

The Valley of the Humber

K. M. LIZARS



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The Valley of the Humber

THE VALLEY OF THE HUMBER

1615 - 1913

By
K. M. LIZARS

Joint Author with R. Lizars of "In the Days of the Canada Company,"
"Humours of '37," "Committed to His Charge," etc.



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PREFACE

ONE hundred and eight years ago Mr. D'Arcy Boulton put into print his opinion that no period in the history of our own country can be considered uninteresting. Now that the wash of haste and the sponge of materialism are wiping many lines off our first pages, it behooves us to dig, and to dig quickly. Miss Marjory MacMurchy pertinently asks, in one of her reviews, "Why make a little book if you do not take a few hours to do it?" In preparing a little book of condensation a great many hours can be consumed; and in this sketch of a small tract which has hitherto been not much suspected of owning enough warp or woof out of which one could weave a fabric, a chief hope is that the future historian may find some portions of his work made easier. To gather, condense, and again sift, to reconsider translations and intermediate synopses, is a delightful occupation known to the initiated; there is a pleasant field waiting for the worker who has ability to develop it; and an earnest cartographer might even make a valuable history that would be unburdened by paragraphs.

Mr. Peter Kalm, a learned Gentleman of Sweden who visited Canada in 1750, asks to be excused if no extravagant wonders are related by him; he could not make nature otherwise than he found it, and he chose that in time to come his readers would say he related things as they were and that all was found to agree with his descriptions, not esteeming him a false relater. So also it is my business to repeat or copy, not to edit; and to those of my readers who possess the historic sense it will appear fitting that certain orthography is retained according to the time and the whim of my principals, and that it is not censored out of existence.

George Sand apologizes for subscribing to the patriarchal fashion of prefaces; and one of the wittiest of modern tramps pokes gentle fun at that fashion in Rabelaisian diction. No notes of thanks for help received, from him; the helper does not want them, and the reader doesn't care. But I cannot emulate my betters; I must give thanks.

Of a certain French village that delightful tramp says that when the land-folk cannot discover folk-lore they enrich their beloved homes by inventing it. The kind folk who have helped me with many inventions come first in my list, and to them I give thanks.

The maps which accompany this letter-press are in part provided by the courtesy of the Crown Lands Department and the heads of the Surveys Branch for Ontario; some I owe to Dr. Fraser, Provincial Archivist; and some, with many other debts, to Mr. Pardoe, Parliamentary Librarian. The unrestricted use allowed me by Professor Watson Bain of his father's rare library was a continuation of Dr. James Bain's kindness extending over many years; and some of my copies, with the Jameson sketches, come from that collection. But the largest proportion, either used herein or provided for my reference portfolio, have come to me through the kindness of Dr. Doughty, Dominion Archivist. To him, and to Mr. H. R. Holmden, who spared me many hours of expert help, I am in large debt; and I have to thank Mr. Parker, the head of the Manuscript Room, for the use of a number of valuable documents.

The ladies of our Public Reference Library have made my research there pleasant; and to Miss Staton I am again obliged, as in the old days under Dr. Bain.

Through the permission obtained for me by the librarian-in-charge at the Canadian Institute I have had the advantage of reading papers of great use to me in my search; and in the lists of authorities given for the statements contained in each section those Papers and Transactions and the copies of the Institute Journal lent me by friends have been acknowledged.

Mr. H. Phillips, of the Lambton General Stores, has been kind enough to lend me the beautiful photograph of the channel above the Lambton mill, facing page 112.

My sketch owes much originally to Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, and afterwards to Dr. Burwash, Dr. J. H. Coyne, Dr. G. H. Needler, and Dr. A. Cosens; and a patient, long-tried man, Mr. E. S. Caswell, has again come to my assistance. Other aid is acknowledged in the body of the book.

I do not mean that these names conclude the list of men and women who have put me in the way of acquiring bits of history, and to each and all I offer my sincere appreciation.

This little tract by Brulé's pathway to the Lake, this Humber of St. John, must have somewhere, perhaps in boxes of letters in garrets, much material for a better history than an outsider can hint at concerning later days; and perhaps an insider will yet write all that should be written. The first step has been taken in the saving of some part of the beauty. When indiscriminate building was imminent and the manufacturer went a-site-seeing, there arose a small band of enthusiasts who mingled their money with their faith, who contrived to buy and to plan, and who had strength in sitting still. A peculiar admixture of romance with their grasp of facts and potentialities made the little Company of Associates a target for many shots; but the immediate development and the apparently inevitable future of their area are proofs that these men have given Toronto a suburb of which Ontario must needs be proud.

To the unthinking, to the underdone, to the ignorant in general, a compilation is dull reading, a thing of shreds of paper and patches of paste, snippets only. I don't mean that this compilation will not be read by some such people. But always there are others; and to those others I would appeal. The parts contain the whole; and the gathering of material for any compilation, however so humble, teaches one that the parts are sometimes few or sometimes not accepted seriously and that the history of Ontario may

never be a whole. This generation is passing; and the coming one will have to dig deeper still to find all that may yet be written of our beginnings. Dig, chorograph; monograph, paragraph; compile, compile, and again compile. Paragraph your findings, monograph your district; and in the future other searchers will arise and bless your industry.

TORONTO, September 9, 1913.

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The Valley of the Humber

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I.

DISCOVERY.

WITHIN the last few years the Ancient and Royal Game has brought the land called Humber Flats within the reach of a large membership. The beauty of the place is known to many men and women who have been guests from remote countries or from our own Provinces; below the sharp slope from the Club verandah, in the bottom of the cup, the links stretch into distance; and in the leafy month the little river and Black Creek sing their quiet tune. On one still day a guest stood looking at the view, with eyes fresh from the glories of the Fraser and the Thompson. There was a world of disappointment in the tone:

“And that is the Humber!”

Its quiet reaches, its gently cut lines of former banks, its English beauty, gave no hint of the story it could tell. For in the story of the Humber is the discovery of Lake Ontario.

For the historical birthday of our river, and the romance and tragedy of an explorer's life, we must look to that pioneer of pioneers, the interpreter Etienne Brulé, the youth who combined French enthusiasm, flawless courage and Indian tenacity with apparently a total absence of self-seeking in all his motives.

By him Lake Ontario was discovered; and by him the Humber was used as his pathway to reach it.

The northern shore was not the most interesting to French explorers. For years the ordinary reader accepted the bare statement that Ontario was the second great lake to be seen by the French, and that Champlain had caught sight of its eastern end in the autumn of 1615. But Cham-

plain had arrived there by the arduous route of the northern water-chains, and mention of his young interpreter is incidental. Records of absorbing interest on the exploration of the country have been left by those who took a greater or lesser part in it, and each year brings out some new discovery in direct or collateral evidence.

To the French this country owes two supreme debts: one, for the single purpose of their explorers, whether from motives of good or ill; the other, for the maps and narratives left by the missionaries, whose labours and actions and selfless motive will be their monument forever. The conventional Jesuit is a familiar figure, repellent to the Protestant mind; but in missionary work and self-sacrifice, history can hardly show his peer. It is difficult to know to which of the three, Franciscan, Sulpitian or Jesuit, belongs the chief place in the missionary Orders. To spread the Gospel to the glory of God, and to enlarge the possessions of the sovereign, left little chance for thought of self. The inevitable human rivalries between priest and adventurer or between priest and priest, do not cloud their character for work as we have to trace it; and the Humber shares in the general debt to their labours.

But in all these records the sentences anent the explorer with whom we are most concerned were for a long time apparently few and scattered; and Butterfield, the historian who felt that he had a commission to construct Brulé's historical tree, had to dig deep to find the roots that had thrown out the few branches. Butterfield's book has simplified and condensed a vague knowledge of the discovery of the lake itself and our portion of the north shore in particular, and the amplified history of the unwitting explorer is a fascinating one.

II.

THE FIRST WHITE MAN ON THE HUMBER.

A CANADIAN historian has very properly put it that no one can know all the history of all his country or of all his Province; but an intelligent person will wish to know at least the tracings of beginnings.

With Cartier the reachings out after a vague west took a crystallized form. With him began the fever for the discovery of mines and the sources of the St. Lawrence. He was told of the river and large lakes beyond Hochelaga, and "then is found a fresh water sea, of which no one has seen the end;" and by 1541 he had drawn a map showing "all the river of Canada," including the Great Lake. This map disappeared; but those of the Upper St. Lawrence until 1612 are based upon his narrative and possibly the knowledge of his map.

In March, 1603, Cartier's great successor, the founder of New France, sailed on the first of his several voyages to the country in which he was to play so great a part. In June he made a leisurely effort west on the river, from Tadoussac, his mind full of former travellers' tales and the stories lately given him by the Indians of the large waters beyond. A river, and lesser lakes, league on league, opened into a lake of indefinite size, meaning Lake Huron; but the rapids checked this first effort, and in three weeks he was again in Tadoussac. This man, Samuel de Champlain, was the master mind in French exploration and colonization for thirty-two years, and to his qualifications as a captain in the Marine and Geographer to the King we owe his maps and his "unparalleled journals."

By the summer of 1610 he knew the full value of a European as an interpreter, and wisely entered into an agreement with the Indians to effect an exchange in young men, actually hostages. This, as a beginning, was success-

ful, and Brulé was an adept in learning the savage life. But the next young man deposited with the Indians is described by Champlain as the most impudent liar that has been seen for a long time. This Nicholas Vignau, instead of becoming an explorer or useful as an interpreter, was an unscrupulous deceiver. Of Hennepin in after years it was said that the Canadians gave him the name *Le Grand menteur*, one who wrote of what he saw in places he never was; but beside Vignau he was commonplace. Champlain resolved to find Cathay, the land of spicery; and his mortifying experiences in 1612 caused by the romancer Vignau were in part the reason of his cool reception of the result of Brulé's travels in 1615.

The Indians repeated to him what Cartier had already recorded, but they varied the tale to suit the occasion of each day, and all the accounts became confused and inconsistent, until the "Great Lake" was applied indiscriminately to all the great waters of hearsay in the chain. When Brulé came back in 1611 from his year with the Algonquin chief, Yroquet, he told Champlain of what he had seen and gave minute details of all that he had heard; and Champlain, absorbing statements and suppositions alike, has let the influences of the young man's first travels be seen in his maps.

One principal reason why so few historians before Butterfield have referred to Brulé in his visits to unexplored regions, is the very brief mention usually made of him by the early writers who have given him any place at all. When he is mentioned it is merely incidentally, and usually with a vagueness that has repelled attention. It is, therefore, not a matter of wonder to Butterfield that the three or four modern authors who have recorded any part of his life have expressed themselves with poverty and caution. That earnest historian claims originality for his narrative on the ground that, before it, Brulé had not, except in one instance, been credited with being the first to reach any of the countries, lakes or rivers of which he was the real discoverer or explorer. The man himself wrote nothing. Champlain, Sagard and Le Caron have

made use of, or set down, his verbal recitals; but they have not done so in a manner to awaken at once the thought that they border on the marvellous.

Butterfield proves that his research has been exhaustive, and he presents his narrative in a lucid, comprehensive form, supporting his statements by indisputable proof. Brulé's early years among the "Good Iroquois," that misnomer for the Hurons of the Lake Huron and Georgian Bay district, are shown to be almost as interesting as his journey later towards the country of the real Iroquois. "What this daring Frenchman accomplished has not hitherto been given in detail by any historian. Even Parkman forgets the journey of Champlain's 'servant' in his heading of Chapter XIII. of his 'Pioneers of France in the New World.' As Father Le Caron and his French escort preceded Champlain and his two white companions some days in reaching, in 1615, Lake Huron, the first-mentioned persons would be entitled to the honour of having been its discoverers, had they not been preceded themselves by Brulé and another."

Lescarbot in writing of Cartier and Champlain deals many little thrusts at the latter, in revenge for slights—mostly fanciful it is true—but opening the question whether so great a man could have been capable of even a little jealousy towards the "young lad" who had done so great a labour. Champlain the large-hearted was also human. A pioneer of the St. Lawrence who had already seen the West Indies, Vera Cruz, the City of Mexico, and who had suggested the Panama Canal, could not push into prominence a youthful interpreter who had all unwittingly made a brilliant discovery, and who, moreover, had stolen his master's thunder by one small month. Champlain was original in the uses to which he put Brulé and hoped to put Vignau and others; but the actual exchange had been anticipated in a sense one hundred years earlier, when a mariner from Dieppe brought home the first specimens of the American Indian.

Although Champlain avoids mention of him by name, calls him his servant or the young man, he describes fully

the proposal of exchange, Brulé's alacrity in going with the Algonquin Captain Yroquet, and his own hope that the young man would learn the language so fully that he should also learn the country and be able to give in detail information of the inland seas and the great copper mine.

Brulé, not Nicolet in 1634, first saw Lake Huron; no white man before Brulé had seen Georgian Bay, the copper mines, or the Sault of Ste. Marie. He was the pioneer of the Ottawa and of our Province of Ontario and the countries of the Hurons and the Neutrals; he was the first in time in the Upper St. Lawrence, and one of the first in performance. It was he who destroyed Champlain's fondest expectation; for the hoped-for North Sea, Lake Superior, was fresh water. And in September, 1615, "at the mouth of the Humber, Brulé first saw Ontario's broad expanse."

Two years in a century are but two drops in Time's bucket, and it is fitting enough to write now of the tercentenary of the day the first white man brought his burden to the Humber.

Three centuries ago, August 12, 1615, Father Le Caron, the great Franciscan, held his first Mass in the Huron country almost directly above the Humber, and in his congregation was Champlain, with his interpreter, Brulé. They had visited four of the Huron villages before reaching the town of Carhagouha—(in the present township of Tiny)—a place fortified with a triple palisade of wood thirty-five feet in height. Here they found the missionary priest, who had preceded them by but a few days and who was full of joy and astonishment at their unexpected arrival. The good father, intent on his own work, formally erected a cross as the symbol of it, and celebrated the first Mass in what is now Ontario. The scene can easily be pictured,—the devout priest, the handsome figure of Champlain and the lithe one of the young interpreter, the kneeling worshippers of their little band of soldiers and followers, and squatting near them the painted Hurons, silent, bewildered, and probably contemptuous. Two days later, Champlain and ten men began

their journey towards Lake Ontario, via Lake Simcoe, Rice Lake and the Trent, reaching the Great Lake in October.

It had been decided by Champlain and his Indian allies to send Brulé with twelve Indians to those tribes of the waters of the Susquehanna who were expected to give five hundred men in the war against the Iroquois. Brulé's mission was to arrange for the junction of the forces, and it is the first portion of his trip that is our concern.

He set out on the eighth of September from the Narrows of Lake Simcoe, following the waters of Lake Simcoe until his gropings in the little watershed farther south discovered a small stream, now crossed by Yonge Street. A little farther on he could have found a swale or shallow morass. The stream was the infant Humber, while the morass was a feeder to the east branch of the Holland. It is at the head of the main stream of the Holland, lying to the west, that the most striking advance between the waters of the two rivers is to be seen.

In the time of La Salle we hear much of missions and routes; but it is believed that earlier still the course along the north shore to the mouth of the Humber was a well-travelled one. The Humber, Holland, Lake Simcoe, then down the Severn to Georgian Bay was an early track; but Indians, and little-known fur traders who perhaps had never heard of the lake now Simcoe, went by the Humber to Nottawasaga.

Brulé's tortures at the hands of the tribes he set forth to seek by the Susquehanna and the scarred appearance he presented on his return, have led some writers to suggest that his name was derived from the result of his life; but there is reason to suppose that it was originally Brulé. Any adventurer in those days might easily have earned such a surname. This journey south from the country of the Hurons by the Holland and Humber was an important one in subsequent historical and cartographical mention; but Parkman dismisses it with a few words on the mere fact that the party, crossing Lake

Ontario, pushed forward with all speed, and gives no hint as to how they reached the Lake before crossing it.

Our highway was an easy one and well known to the Hurons. A little later it was frequently travelled in the journey to the St. Lawrence, covering but ten days, and there are written records as early as 1632 that the Hurons told the French it was but a ten days' journey by that route to the carrying-place on the St. Lawrence.

Brulé and his twelve braves felt their way towards the head of the great lake instead of going towards its outlet, for two good reasons; one, that they thought they would save time; and the second, that they wished to avoid a difficult and very dangerous route through the heart of the Iroquois country. Coasting along the Lake, the party reached the mouth of the Niagara; and from there onward until he reached the Susquehanna, and until he began his effort in April, 1616, to regain the St. Lawrence, his life was in his hand. Perils by land and water, torture, miraculous escapes from the Carantouannais (Andastes) to whom he had carried Champlain's message, he counted as nothing; nor was he daunted by his master's cool reception of his faithfulness.

Brulé's usefulness is receiving a tardy recognition, and his truthfulness has been proved by sifted evidence. Brébeuf and Sagard speak well of "poor Brulé," and the views of others of their kind may be accepted rather than those of the French of the time, who accepted the Huron statement that because he had left his own nation and gone over to the English his murder was justified.

The invective indulged in in Champlain's edition of 1632 was written, not by Champlain himself, but by the alien hand that compiled that book. The interpreter-explorer's historian proves by all authorities who bear investigation that Brulé's tale is to be believed; and that "It is quite inconceivable that by selling himself to the English in 1629 it could affect his narrative, as to its reliability, in 1618."

No Frenchman of any age, surrounded by the romantic unknown, can be commonplace; and Brulé was a half-



BY BRULÉ LAKE ONTARIO WAS DISCOVERED; AND BY HIM THE HUMBER WAS USED AS HIS PATHWAY TO REACH IT.

naturalized Indian with, possibly, some of his tribe's power of flowers of speech and imagery. He must have stopped at the point for long enough to listen to the waves that out of a great deep came stealing forth in a quiet hour; or he watched the long lake before him lengthen out its hoary line. To bear messages and thus explore was his profession; seeking adventure was his choice. But with that Mer Douce before him and the little river at his back, he, a Frenchman, surely felt the quickenings of the poet of rivers and lakes. The great and the terrible are easily found in Canada, and there are word painters to give them to us; but the reaches of the Humber are still looking for their Wordsworth.

In the exordium of the Bookseller to the Reader of La Salle's successes and trials, are sentences that may apply to both these explorers of the Humber. "In acknowledgment therefore of the Service done us by these Illustrious Adventurers, and to make them sort of Amends for their Sufferings, let us transmit their Names to Posterity in our Writings; let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations. This, here, most certainly deserves to be read and commended, for it is Curious, Extraordinary, and Tragical. It is also ingaging at this Conjunction, when there is a design of making Settlements in those Countries, the Consequence whereof may be most Honourable and Advantageous to the Nation."

Brulé's appetite for aboriginal life was unappeasable; and through it, his chief incentive during his life, came his discoveries and also his end. He journeyed much; but he could not keep away from the Hurons. He was with them again in 1627, and returned for the last time in 1632. He had piloted the English to Quebec in 1629 and served them during the occupation of Canada, as a common man earning a livelihood, not as a soldier. But this over-turn earned him scepticism as to his narrative, in the years immediately following; and, by indirect reasoning, was the cause of his death. "*Le pauvre Brulé devait être rebrûlé pour la dernière fois, vers 1634, chez les Hurons.*"

Clubbed, and eaten, by the treacherous Hurons at their village Toanché, near Penetanguishene, his end was as wild as his life; but in the Indian way his spirit was avenged. Several years after his death, when the Huron country was half depopulated by an epidemic, the frightened Indians believed that revenge was being taken by the French, and one of their sorcerers declared that a sister of the murdered man had been seen flying over their country, breathing pestilence and death.

The date of the discovery of the Humber as the pathway to the Great Lake is not only of respectable antiquity, but it is worthy of finding a place in the list of great events of its time. "Brulé arrived in the valley of the St. Lawrence the next year after the English first gained a foothold in North America; and he started upon his journey with the savages which resulted in the first expedition ever made westward of the Great River of Canada, and in the discovery of Lake Huron, ten years before the landing of the Plymouth Pilgrims; and six years after Hudson first saw the river that bears his name, Brulé stood on the beach at the mouth of the Humber, 'the first civilized man to gaze out upon that broad expanse of waters.'"

III.

OF CARTOGRAPHY.

LAHONTAN gives a summary dismissal to those stay-at-home geographers who parcel out the Earth according to their fancy; but without those geographers the study of cartography would lose much of its interest.

A man very wise for two hundred years ago, who fore-saw Canada as a nation, is wise enough for to-day. He considers that errors of haste befall, perhaps to the reader, perhaps to the writer; and his own opinion is, one should be content to repeat the errors of the original authors, whom one must needs follow, without going aside to matters not found in them and wandering beyond the bounds of what they have written; especially when such wandering serves no good purpose.

Small as is the Humber nowadays, one must wander somewhat to find its cartographical beginnings; and such wandering is to excellent purpose.

Cartier was the first European to gain any actual knowledge of Lake Ontario; and by the hearsay dating from him it was first cartographically sketched in the Molineux map of 1600, where it is spoken of as the Lacke of Tadenac, the bounds whereof are unknown,—merged, however, into a great inland sea, the prototype of the Great Lakes.

By Cartier's time the westward route to Cathay was an absorbing topic to mariners, and Verrazano in 1524 made an expedition under the French Government for the discovery of the east by the west. A map preserved in the Bodleian Library, of date 1536, shows a dotted line from Europe to Cathay through an open strait north of Newfoundland. We are infinitely beholden to that perpetual day dream, and through it Cartier made his attempts up the great river. His map, showing "all the river of

Canada," disappeared; but succeeding maps until 1612 are based upon the foundations of the lost one. When Champlain first heard the tale of the great inland sea, the confusing accounts sometimes made out a lake beyond Ontario, or it might be an outlet into the South Sea, or it might be salt water itself. The natives made their answers to suit his eagerness, and placed the salt water in various lakes. Map makers half a century afterwards puzzled later explorers by giving the name Sea Water Lake to Lake St. Clair; and the Algonquin narrator told Champlain of a river route to the Northern Algonquins and to the Nation of the Hurons.

In Champlain's map of 1612 was the first attempt to outline the country now known as Ontario. In his smaller map, 1613, Lake Ontario receives its name, Lac St. Louis. The map of 1632 was the first attempt to indicate any part of Ontario from actual knowledge, and it may be called the map of Ontario in embryo.

The French fur-traders who preceded the Récollet priest, Joseph Le Caron, to the country of the Hurons had possibly discovered more than one of the four routes that best led into it. But their interest was in peltry, not in missions or geography; and gradually they sold their pack impartially in Albany or Montreal, keeping most of their geographical knowledge to themselves.

In 1639-41 Brébeuf and Chaumonot made an extended exploration, in the course of which they probably saw the western end of Lake Ontario; and in 1640 Garnier and Jogues established their missions. Ragueneau sent to his Father Superior a map showing the entire Huron-Iroquois country; and, although that map has disappeared, it is supposed to have furnished material for Sanson.

Sanson's is the first elaborate map of the whole country of the Great Lakes; and in his of 1650 we find tracings of our river, as one of the important discoveries of the French. Although supposedly based on the Relations of the Jesuits, his work may have had inspiration from the fur-traders who had been seeking peltries for some years previous to those records. He shows a familiarity with the canoe

routes via Lac St. Louis, and the guesswork that goes to the making of the maps is peculiar in its accuracy. He names Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence for the first time, and the accuracy of his two maps is striking when compared with the work of some of his successors. Du Creux in 1660 follows him in general, but where he varies from Sanson the changes are for the worse.

Du Creux represents the region of Lake Simcoe as laid down in 1660, its name *Lacus Ouentaronius*, which may be read elsewhere as *Ouen-tarontus*. Scadding upholds Du Creux in his *Ouentaronius*, and thinks it may be the original of Ontario. Leading up to Du Creux, we are referred to Brodhead's History, where Lake Ontario appears in 1615 as *Lac des Entouhonorons*, a name used by Champlain. Bressani says that Lake Erié empties by a cascade "dans un troisième lac encore plus grand et plus magnifique, nommé lac Ontario ou beau lac; nous l'avons appelé lac St. Louis." Further we have "lac Ontario ou Lac des Entouhonorons;" and, "D'après Hennepin les Iroquois l'appelaient Kanadario, beau lac. . . . Vanderdonk l'appelle Lac des Iroquois," and again we find that others have called it from its eastern end, Lake Catarackoui. The spelling of the last was a stumbling-block, and in 1751 John Bartram is still giving it as *Cadarakin*, in whose bay "the famous and unfortunate Mr. de la Sale had two barks, which remain sunk there to this day."

In 1671 Courcelles derives the Great Lake from the Huron, as *iontara*, lake, and *io*, great; and at the same period there is, apart from Bressani, the Iroquois *Skanandario*. Descriptive words were caught up by the French as proper names, and hence many of the controversies of later date. The description of the portage of the Humber is one of these argued questions.

In maps succeeding, after Du Creux's efforts in 1660, we might look for physical changes. The great earthquake of 1663 wrought havoc in many parts of Canada, and in the east whole rivers disappeared and others altered their courses. Apparently the Humber was not affected, for in 1679 we find Franquelin leaving it where Sanson had

placed it. In the years immediately following Du Creux, map-making moved slowly. The peace between the Iroquois and the French made the north shore valuable enough to be added to the map of the Great Lakes. Galinée shows the south shore and the country as he knew it, and it is possible that Fénelon, in whose hands that map was left for some time, or Trouvé, supplemented it from their actual knowledge and marked the details of the north shore. Thus, to the Sulpitians, with their chain of missions, is due the intelligible beginning of the north shore in detail, and by 1669 both banks of the lake had been explored by them and depicted on the first authoritative map.

A combination of mock modesty and grandiloquence leaves the descriptions of geography in the making amusing if sometimes difficult to follow. Richard Blome quaintly says, in 1673, that censorious persons may find some fault with his maps; and Lescarbot, who "strives for language that is intelligible rather than exact," has nevertheless something to do with the historical inaccuracies of which he and others complain.

By 1669 the next great name after Champlain comes into the list of maps. The romance of exploration is forever connected with the name of La Salle, and in that year he and the Sulpitians, Dollier de Casson and Galinée, come into the annals of Lake Ontario. A fourth great man enters this group; for in September Jolliet was returning with a companion from his northern travels in search of the elusive copper mine, to the Lower St. Lawrence; and in the autumn, near the Head of the Lake, he met La Salle and his party who were seeking the route to the sea. It was then that Jolliet drew for La Salle a map of such of the upper country as he knew. His smaller map shows two rivers on Lac Frontenac, the western one where the Humber portage would lie; and his larger map (1674) shows an indentation directly south of Lake Simcoe, apparently the same water.

The Indian town of Otinawatawa, where Jolliet sketched his route for La Salle, was a species of Iroquois

colony a few miles north of the present city of Hamilton. Thus one more place in our neighbourhood was mapped. It was from here that some of the discontented ones in La Salle's party returned to Lachine, and from the Abbé Faillon comes a story that La Chine then received its name, in derision of an adventurer's dream of a westward path to China.

In the Margry map showing the discoveries of La Salle in 1679-80-81-82, the one tracing in the northwest of Lake Ontario is evidently the Humber.

The Coronelli and Raffeix maps of Lac Frontenac give the Humber portage. In the minds of all these early searchers the Great Lakes are merely enlargements of the Great River. Lahontan is at a loss to find the head of the St. Lawrence, "for though we have traced it seven or eight hundred leagues up, yet we could never reach its source, the remotest place that the Coureurs de Bois go to being the Lake Lenemipigon, which disembogues into the Upper Lake, as the Upper Lake do's into the Lake of Hurons, the Lake of Hurons into that of Errié alias Conti, and that of Errié into that of Frontenac, which forms this last great river. . . ;" and as late as 1824 a traveller at Niagara Falls describes Lake Ontario as the Lake into which the St. Lawrence or Niagara empties itself.

A map by Popple declares that in it the British Empire in America is "laid down more truly than any yet extant," according to a credential appended by Dr. Edmund Halley, the astronomer. Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, shows Tejajagon east of the river Tanaouate, the latter, with its two branches, making the connection to Lake Simcoe.

Dr. Scadding's description of the globe of 1690 is led up to by the story of the intermittent war and peace conducted by the Iroquois. The Hurons were allies of the French; and the Iroquois, as allies of the English, wrought devastation in the Huron region. A well-marked route, by water and land, extended from the Great Lake to a point on the bay now called the Georgian; and the French,

as allies of the Hurons, suffered from Iroquois resentment. The latter, by the middle of the seventeenth century, were sole masters of the Ontario peninsula, and the whole country became their hunting preserve. But it was a splendid isolation that was expensive, for by degrees they were cut off from the other fur-bearing portions of their world. Diplomacy made them wish to be middlemen for the French and English in the trade of the northwest, and thus the Lower Lakes became moderately safe for travel. Through strategical necessities the south shore was of value; but the north shore had for years been passed by. Except for a few enthusiasts, the lake shores possessed no value in the eyes of the French, who passed them by without any thought of exploring the interior.

Like buffalo traces, Indian paths were worn deep, sometimes a foot, almost always six inches into the earth. The Iroquois trail across New York was called by the Jesuits the Beaten Road; and the Toronto portage was a highway of so many years in use that in appearance, as well as in geographical importance, it was worthy of a place upon the globe.

Also, a manuscript map in the Marine Archives of Paris has a direct bearing on the said globe. This map, by J. B. L. Franquelin, hydrographer to Louis XIV. and the predecessor of Louis Jolliet in that office, is inscribed, "drawn in 1688, by order of the Governor and Intendant of New France, from sixteen years' observation of the author." The map is described as five feet long and three feet wide, with Lakes Ontario and Erie and their adjacent country remarkably well delineated. On the map is marked a little bay, with the word "Teiaigon" on its east side; a dotted line indicates the portage to the west branch of the river that empties into Lake Taronto.

Reaching the globe itself, "Mr. Barlow Cumberland furnished Dr. Scadding the curious information that in the Grand Salon of the Ducal Palace at Venice in 1872 there was a large terrestrial globe some four feet in diameter, made in 1690, on which, where the American Lakes are presented, the small lake north of Lake Ontario—

here called Frontenac—between it and Lake Huron, is styled Lake Taronto, and the track there called Portage is distinctly marked from the lesser lake to the larger one on the south, where its terminus is marked by the word Toiouegon. . . The oldest French maps give Toronto as it is spelled now; so La Salle gave it in 1680, and the maps used by Lahontan. . . That the Trail should have been so clearly marked with the word Portage on the globe is very interesting.” There was a custom not uncommon in the early maps, that of leaving out the portages; and this distinctness in the Franquelin and in the globe is of double value. The word “portage” occurs first as an English noun in the translation of Hennepin of 1698, but its use as a verb does not seem to have begun until the nineteenth century.

In La Salle’s time Teiaigon, at the mouth of the Humber, was counted a day’s journey from the Toronto Lake, our present Lake Simcoe. A river round whose headwaters was an Indian wintering-ground, and from which there was an easy portage continuing a chief chain, could not be omitted even if the custom was to give little importance to the markings of portages; hence the use of the word Teiaigon, in some one of its variations, in maps where merely the end of the portage is indicated.

Lahontan more than once describes the Tanaouate, leading from Lake Ontario to a land carriage to the river of Toronto, into the country of the Hurons. Apparently by only one historian has this Tanaouate been referred to as the Don and not as the equivalent of the Humber. A confusion as to meanings led to the wanderings of place names, and “Toronto” has wandered farther than from Georgian Bay and the River Trent to the old landing. When Sir Richard Bonnycastle wrote of the Italian officer, Tarento, who had laid out the place, he did not seem to be aware of any definite source of the name, nor of the fact that no engineer officer called Tarento had ever been heard of here. When the Mississaga Tract was secured and laid out, one of the new townships was named Toronto. A narrow triangle was called the Gore of Toronto; a

village in the township of Hope was first given its name as Toronto before it settled into Port Hope; and Robert Gourlay in his curious map gave the name of Toronto in 1822 to what was to be the chief city of the Province. The innumerable variants of the word Mississaga gradually resolved themselves into that used in Dr. Scadding's text and adopted here; and the Lamabinicon of Augustus Jones' time has varied its position and its name sufficiently to remove it from the neighbourhood of Burlington Bay to the Mabemico, or Mimico. The Credit appears as Credai, Crédit, la Credit, and other interchanges, and as "aucredie" in one of the most interesting maps of ante-provincial times. In this map, drawn by Pouchot and later engraved for his book on the war that cost him Niagara, the present island of Toronto is Presqu'isle, in shape like a baby's sock; two unnamed rivers in the position of the Don and the Humber have Toronto between them; west of Toronto is R. aucredie; west of it, R. aux Atokas. A narrow littoral is backed by a crenated barrier of high mountains; and west of R. aucredie these mountains crumple down into hills on the lake shore. Pouchot had a true idea of the watershed, but we lack something of the littoral mountains with which he credited us; and our fort that provided some of the important moments in his life appears in one copy of a Pownall map of 1755 as Fort Tronto.

Another of 1755 is from a section of one marked with continuing notes "as used by the Commissioners under the Treaty of Utrecht, now in the British Museum. A section appears as used by the Commissioners in 1821. The same map is in the Colonial Office of America, as used by the Commissioners in 1842."

Before leaving the delineations that express so much of the history of this one of the Great Lakes, I do not wish to omit a paragraph taken from a book that appeared in 1909 called "The Story of the Great Lakes," by two Americans. "For three hundred years the Great Lakes have been the centre of an immensely varied and intensely interesting history. They were originally the home of savages;

they were discovered and explored by Frenchmen; they became the scene of a century-long struggle for possession by Indians of many tribes and white men of three nations; and they have been finally occupied and developed by Americans." A worthier quotation can be made from the Honourable A. C. Flagg, sometime Comptroller of the State of New York, who said that the battle for the trade of the West must be fought on the lakes or those untaxed waters with which no other communication can compete.

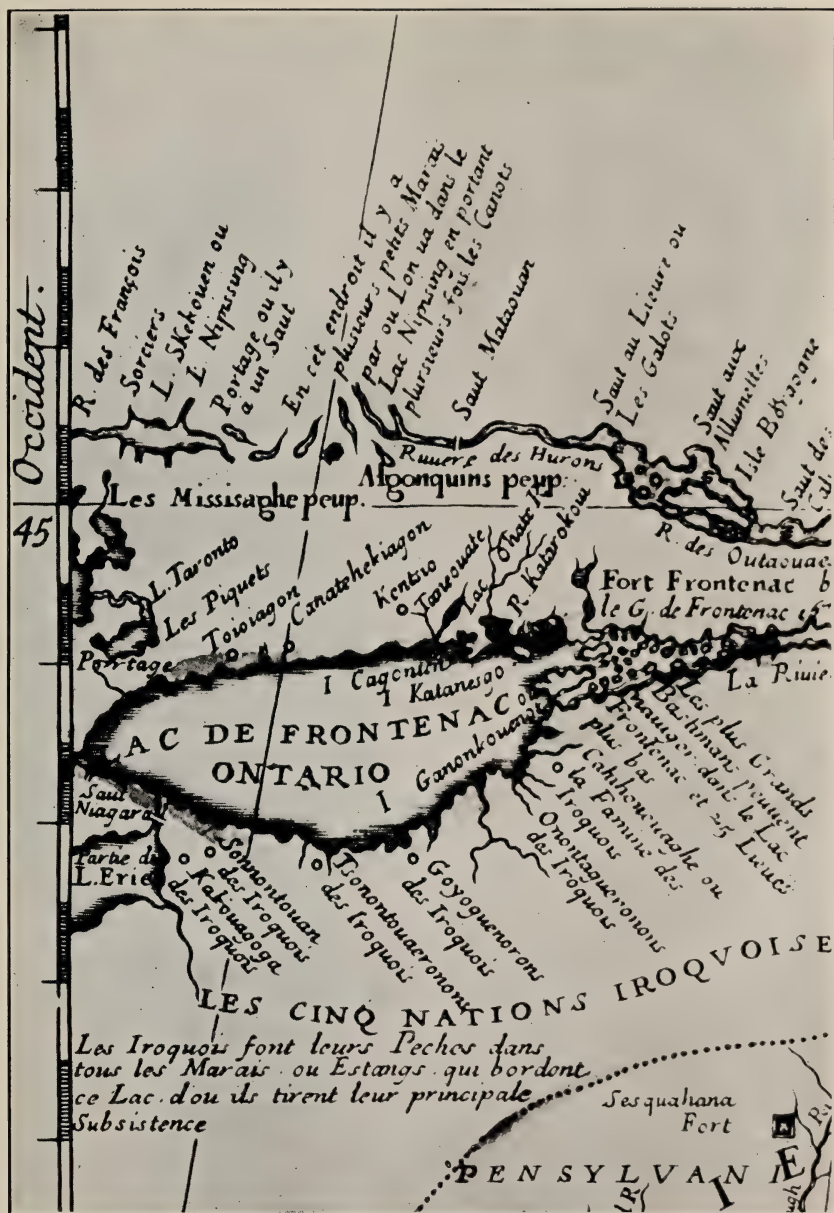
IV.

LA SALLE.

SINGLE-HANDED poaching in any circumstances gets but short shrift, and in 1640 poaching on a large scale was meditated by an Englishman whose spirit was not inferior to that of the man in possession. A curious account is quoted from Paul le Jeune, Superior of the Jesuit Missions in Canada, in a letter dated September 10, 1640, of an attempt made by an Englishman "accompanied by a single servant and a party of Abenaki Indians, to cross the American continent in search of a northwest passage to the sea. He arrived at Quebec on the 24th of June, 1640. The Governor compelled him to return to England." Such attempts, nipped in their bud, left the field free for the coming of the greater man.

Western fever existed in a highly-developed form from the earliest days of sailing the high seas; and by 1493 John Cabot had determined that the East could best be reached by sailing into the eye of the setting sun. His ensuing Patent from the English sovereign gave him and his sons the Royal permission to sail where they would, in the Eastern, the Western, and the Northern Seas.

By 1578 there were three hundred and seventy fishing vessels of five nationalities at Newfoundland; by 1599 Pontgravé was establishing his settlement at Tadoussac as the beginning of a fur trade that eventually was to penetrate so far west that St. John, two hundred years later, was deposited at the Toronto Landing as one of its results; and by 1669 La Salle was getting close to the trail by which Brulé had added a great lake to the map. Champlain had followed Cartier in his eagerness for the discovery of copper and Cathay; and La Salle's herculean efforts, and romance of the whole, led to what was literally the first excursion on the Humber.



1689.

THE CORONELLI AND RAFFEIX MAPS OF 1688 GIVE THE HUMBER PORTAGE.

René Robert Cavelier, better known as La Salle, from the name of the family estate, was born in 1643 at Rouen. Although connected with the Jesuits at an early age, he soon gave up all idea of an ecclesiastical career, and turned his attention to New France, where his brother, a priest, was already established. With a slender fortune he arrived in 1666, and in the following two years he spent much of his time in mastering the Indian languages, particularly the dialects of the Iroquois and Algonquins. Thenceforward he had but one guiding motive. The earliest explorers were men of no common mould; even Hennepin and Lahontan had earned some of the embroidery on their recitals. Champlain, Nicolet, the saintly Marquette, Jolliet,—these men and their companions in ideals had all a touch of the sublime upon them; their labours were prodigious, their sufferings heroic, and their perseverance indomitable. And second only to Champlain stands La Salle.

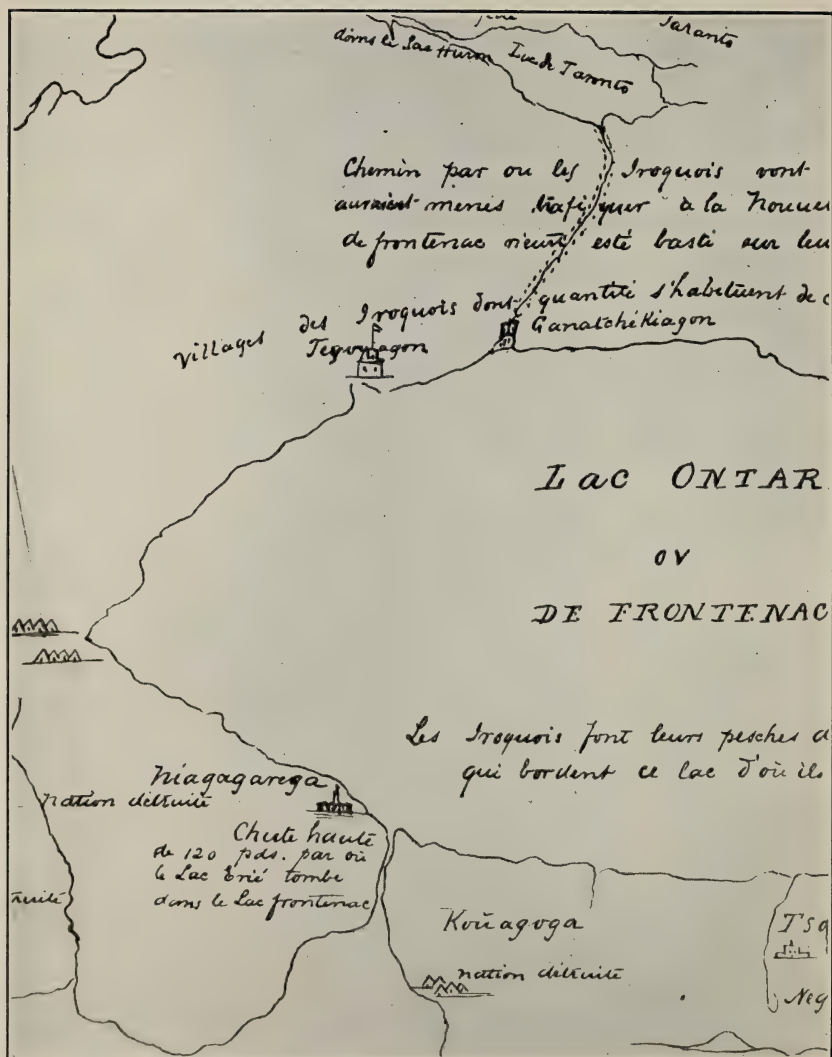
The *Sieur de Mitchell*, who “methodiz’d” *Joutel’s Journal*, says in his preface to it a few words that can yet thrill the student of the hero’s life: “Notwithstanding the late *Monsieur de la Sale’s Voyage* had a most unfortunate End, as to his own Person, yet that will not hinder posterity from ever allowing him the Title of a most renowned Traveller.”

Of the many writers and translators who have followed his actions and traced the workings of his mind, there are few who stint their admiration. Doubtless he had the great faults of his great qualities; possibly it is true that he never looked far ahead of him for the results of any indiscretion; but from the western end of Lake Ontario alone there is the record of much that his devoted lieutenants claimed for him. There is no one of the pioneers of the continent whose achievements equal his. In his share of the “historical confusions” the most interesting summary is made from Margry, who first contends that he reached the Ohio, and then the Mississippi via the Illinois, after he left *Dollier de Casson* and *Galinée*; then the contention wavers; and again there are many authorities in favour of the prior discovery by *Jolliet* and *Marquette*.

From the Senecas he learned of the Great River, as they called the Ohio, flowing into the sea; and his imagination leaped at the possibility of all the discoveries that lay between New France and a route to China. In 1669 he had already made one unsuccessful and comparatively short trip towards the west, under a divided interest that led to cross purposes and his own return after the meeting with Dollier and Galinée, who represented the Church as he did the spirit of adventurous exploration. Of this meeting, and apropos of the name of his seignory above Montreal, Sulte says, "M. Dollier aimait à rire; je pense qu'il est l'auteur du terme satirique Lachine." The so-called satire appears again in 1792, when an anonymous writer gives an Englishman's superficial view of Canada in general, and of Lachine he says, "It received its name from a peculiar circumstance. A foreigner of distinction many years back arrived at Montreal, where he gave out that it was his intention to traverse the continent of America in that direction, so as finally to arrive at China. . . . The satirical French-Canadians in memory of this event gave the name of La Chine or China to the place where the boasting foreigner had terminated his tour."

A more dignified quotation can be made from the explorer himself. One of his letters to Count Frontenac received in 1673 expresses his disasters of 1672 with the simple directness of St. Paul, in perils often. Perils from savages and perils from navigating forty-two rapids gave place to a landing that promised to be safe. But the canoe was upset, and he writes, "I lost two men and my box, in sight of, at the door of, the first French settlements which I had left almost two years before."

The uncertainties of the years following the first failure, and his various voyages to France, bring us to two points: his co-operation with Count Frontenac in the fort named by the latter; and his arrival from France with Father Louis Hennepin in his party. To Hennepin more than to the single-minded explorer we owe the knowledge of the highway of the Humber in the years that succeeded the



IN LA SALLE'S TIME TEIAIAGON, AT THE MOUTH OF THE HUMBER, WAS
COUNTED A DAY'S JOURNEY FROM LAC DE TARONTO.

1680. A second photo from a copy
of the original in Quebec Seminary.

arrival of the priest. He quotes, for his own assistance, "it is a common saying that Truth is the essence and soul of history," and of late there have been persistent efforts to restore his good name. Although a missionary of the saintly Order of the Récollets, he hated the other Orders, was jealous of La Salle, was a true mischief-maker in the 1679 expedition, and has left a picture so highly varnished that succeeding historians have used towards him a constantly recurring adjective,—mendacious. He says amongst other things of its kind, that his reticence in his former publication was owing to his "fear of disobliging Mr. de la Sale with whom I began my Discovery. This Gentleman would alone have the Glory of having discovered the course of the Meschasipi;" but when he says that in his Humber trip they came pretty near to one of the villages called Taiaiaagon, we have enough evidence to believe him. Sir Charles Lyell has no faith in his illustration of Niagara Falls in the Utrecht edition, 1697, for "the ship introduced is, I presume, a conventional sign for water, as at that period Lake Erie had only been navigated by canoes."

The building of this little ship brings the Humber into the story of La Salle. In the grand seignorial manner, he had established himself at Frontenac; his village was self-sustaining, and he strengthened the fort. In Colonel Beyard's rare journal of 1693 the Five Nations are described as composed of the Mohaques, Oneydes, Onondages, Cayouges, and Sinnekes. These lived for the most part south of the Lake, although some lived to the north, and, from any part of the compass, his fort was a great check upon them.

Adventurous traders had preceded him; the jealousy of the Jesuits, conscious of their waning power in the Colonial régime, made all things difficult for him; even Galinée had penned sharp words concerning him; envious persons had urged on Jolliet to anticipate his discoveries; small politics in the stations and the chance of rights being infringed in the wilds, all combined to delay, harass and hamper. Nevertheless, he lived in sufficient peace to enable him by 1677 to raise poultry and horned cattle, wheat,

pulse and pot herbs; there was good timber at hand for houses and ships, and he built for both land and water. By May, 1678, he received the coveted Patent, opening the way to unrestricted exploration. It was a comprehensive passport, granting him the country through which to all appearance "a way may be found to Mexico."

His Patent was necessary for despatch in things both small and great, for the Government was paternal. To check the poaching and the trade between the Indians and *coureurs de bois*, a decree had been issued by the King that no Frenchman should remain more than twenty-four hours in the woods without a license from the Governor. In 1670 obdurate bachelors had been forbidden to hunt, fish, or trade, an edict aimed against the young men who had taken to the woods and an Indian manner of life. Later that edict was strengthened by one ordering that whoever went to the woods without a licence was to be whipped for the first offence, and sent to the galleys for life for the second.

In 1678 he gathered his stores and men, preparatory to sending Hennepin and La Motte to build his fort and little ship above Niagara.

Thus his second exploration was virtually commenced by Father Hennepin and La Motte. They left Fort Frontenac on the 18th of November, in a brigantine of ten tons, keeping in the shelter of the north shore until the storm and winds should subside. The crew grew nervous in the savage northeaster, and the long, grey sweep of naked forests showed that winter was closing in. On the 26th they had gone as far as they dared, and after grounding three times, ran for safety into the mouth of the river, now proved to have been the Humber. Part of the ballast had to be thrown out and fourteen men landed before the vessel could be made to float. "The inhabitants of the village near-by, called Tai-ai-a-gon" were astonished at the appearance of their visitors, but were hospitable and supplied them with provisions. The brigantine narrowly escaped being frozen in for the winter, and had to be cut out with axes. They remained there until December 5,

when the wind allowed them to reach the mouth of the Niagara on the following day. In these few days at the mouth of the Humber, at Brulé's Point, began the first commerce of the place, when La Motte's men bartered their commodities with the natives for the supply of corn the boat carried away with it.

When La Salle followed his captain and the missionary in January, 1679, he came by the south shore. He brought a "great bark" to supply his party with provisions, but that bark was cast away within two leagues of Niagara. He then returned on foot to Fort Frontenac, over the ice with two men and a dog, "dropping baggage by the way."

His little ship, the *Griffon*, was completed above the Falls of Niagara; but difficulties beset him from the beginning, ending in the total loss of ship and cargo. Of the ship and its grave, Hennepin speaks simply: "It was never known what course they steered, nor how they perished." By being as wise and vigilant a seaman as he was capable in all else he had got his ship of forty-five tons in safety as far as that haven of much desire, "Missilimackinak," and there he was to take one course, and his ship with its load of stores and peltries another. Desertion and robbery, ingratitude of his men, the approach of winter spoiling plans already delayed, an escape from the poison of his enemies, minor shipwrecks, hunger, danger from Indians, had all come in his day's work; but in spite of thus again emulating St. Paul he reached the land of the Illinois in safety.

In the spring of 1680 La Salle completed his famous walk of five hundred leagues to Frontenac from his western fort, "the most toilsome journey that ever any Frenchman has undertaken in America." Then came his search for his deserters, and after small excursions to find them nearer home, he left Fort Frontenac once more for the Illinois country. In August, 1680, is the record, "On the 15th he arrived at Teioiagon, an Iroquois village about sixty leagues from the Fort and near the extremity of the north shore of Lake Frontenac. Here he remained until the 22nd, as it was necessary to transport the whole equip-

ment by land to Lake Toronto, the outlet to which is a river running westward into the eastern part of Lake Huron, and navigable only to canoes." He had grieved keenly over the loss of the *Griffon*, and "here he got certain news of the loss of his vessel from two deserters, whom he arrested, one of whom, Gabriel Minime, obtained permission to return with him, making complaint against those who had led him astray. The other, Grandmaison, fled, carrying off with him the peltries which M. de la Salle had seized and placed in the safe-keeping of a savage." On the 23rd of August he reached Lake Toronto, "upon which he embarked with all his men and descended the river which flows from the lake to an islanded bay into which it empties."

His further adventures do not concern us until May, 1681, when he found he would have again to return to Fort Frontenac, "which he reached by the way of Lake Toronto." In August of that year he prepared for his great journey, resolving to trust to no lieutenant but to lead his men with their outfit in person, and to succeed or die in the attempt. His great efforts and accurate preparations were made, "hoping thus to bring his undertaking to a happy conclusion." Early in August he reached the mouth of the Humber, the village this time spelled Teyoyagon, where a fortnight was spent in the transportation of his equipment to the shore of Lake Toronto, on which he embarked at the end of the same month. The official narrative says, simply, "The result will be known at the close of the present year, 1682."

Historical confusions abound, and the delay in the Humber portage as expressed by Parkman was not an inevitable delay. In the letter written by La Salle concerning the deserters, he says, "To take up again the course of my journey, I set off last year from Teiaiaagon on the 22nd of August and reached the shores of Lake Toronto on the 23rd, where I arrested two of my deserters." And thus, too, one may hope that the deserters had not actually penetrated the Humber region.



THE SECOND BEND IN THE RIVER, ON THE WAY FROM TOLOLAGO TO MISSILIMACKINAK.

In his passings and repassings "by the shorter way," and his use of Brulé's trail, we get the second paragraph in the Humber's early chapter of romance. From Margry and the official narrative comes a story that is consecutive and minutely local to our subject; but in all the renderings and transcriptions of the life of such a man it is inevitable that confusions creep in, with additions from the bias of enthusiasm in translators and annotators. But the thread of the Humber story runs clearly, connecting some of the high lights and extraordinary events of a life that is reckoned by both contemporaries and succeeding historians as fascinating, heroic, romantic, or incredible. As to one of his great incentives, the Mississippi, old Carver offers bland criticism of Hennepin, Charlevoix and Lahontan and omits La Salle. He says that it has never been explored higher up than the River St. Francis, "and only by Father Hennepin and myself thus far." Hennepin named the St. Francis, "and this was the extent of his travels, as well as mine, towards the northwest."

Honourable recitals, such as those of Joutel and Tonty, show the man as he was and the deeds that he accomplished; men like Hennepin, le grand menteur, and Lahontan convey, through the jealousies of their own natures, a better idea of his difficulties. Chateaubriand says of Lahontan that he was an ignorant man and a liar; and others aver that his entertaining apocrypha was written by a man who was probably not a baron and who possibly was the renegade monk Guedreville. But the baron and the priest alike have painted for us a picture of a great man, a great figure that stands out between the day of Brulé and the day of that shadowy first settler, St. John. His Canadian travels ceased; and he passed by no more this way.

V.

MISSION, FORT AND LOG HOUSE.

PONTGRAVÉ of St. Malo was an experienced fur-trader by 1600; and the unrecorded traders who used the trails long before explorers or missionaries left their narratives, must have found the Humber-Nottawasaga route earlier even than when Brulé hurried through his Holland-Humber discovery. A well-established and jealously-guarded highway would have had its villages near by; the western end of Lake Ontario was probably found by the priests between 1626 and 1641; and the presence of a priest involved a Mass. But we have no guide to an actual mission until the intermittent work done along the north shore by the Quinté Fathers. The naïve French Book-seller who addresses his reader on behalf of Joutel, says that many discoveries had been made to the northward before Monsieur de la Sale's time, because of there being plenty of very good furs, discoveries made by means of the adventurers called woodmen, but none had advanced far beyond Fort Frontenac.

The founder of the Fort, Count Frontenac, who died in 1698 at an advanced age, had been at feud with the Jesuits and Sulpitians, while he upheld and helped the Récollets; but in spite of troubles from within and dangers without, the missions had been steadily prosecuted.

When Hennepin came to the country with Bishop Laval he was full of ambition and a spurious zeal. His gifts as a recorder earned him a name for unscrupulousness, and his faculty of appropriating some of the honours that belonged to others made him one of that school of writers who state the truth by accident and a lie by inclination. The honest-minded Joutel scores the Flemish Récollet for his sycophantic dedications to William, Prince of Orange, and asks, "Would the Hugonots, being enemies to

the Roman Church, employ Recolets to go preach up Popery, as they call it, in Canada? . . . Can Father Hennepin be excusable in this point?" But the true Récollet needs no excuse in his missionary work in Canada.

Some modern readings of the early toll of blood and work paid by the Church tell of the Jesuits, labouring most earnestly and effecting most; the Sulpitians ranking next; then the Priests of the Foreign Missions; and the Récollets. The last, a reformed branch of the Franciscans, were full of the Order's original zeal and spirit, and they and the self-glorifying Hennepin could have had little in common.

The Iroquois had turned whatever country they touched into a desert, and even after a peace their tigerish thirst began the slaughter again. Missionaries and all others in their path were swept away. The French exerted themselves, sent a sufficient force to subdue them, and in 1667 the missionaries, Frémin among them, began again. The Hurons had been extirpated by the "invincible Philistines" in 1649, and thus the north shore was coming gradually into the field. As at other points the missionary had preceded the recognized trader, so now the priest was following him. Originally the common route was the Ottawa River; but valuable peltries were to be secured near the north shore, and also the Otonabee and the Humber were found equally useful,—the latter, La Salle's "shorter way" of reaching the general goal, Michillimackinak.

Soon there were a number of Fathers in the Quinté Mission, and the whole north shore was to feel the influence of the brother of the great Archbishop of Cambrai, Fénelon. All roads led to Michillimackinak; and after the destruction of the Hurons and the closing of the Ottawa route by the Iroquois, the Humber route had an added importance to missionary as well as to trader.

The fort of 1749 had its inspiration from the designs of 1686, when Denonville writes to La Durantaye: "*. . . cependant, il est absolument nécessaire pour le service du Roy et de la colonie que vous reteniez auprès de vous le plus de François que vous pourrez, parce que je prétends*"

faire occuper deux postes, l'un au destroit du lac Erié, et l'autre au portage de Toronto." This suggested fort, designed for the Lake Huron end of the pass, was intended to be part trading-post and chiefly fort, so that the hated English trespassers might have somebody to speak to. Lahontan describes it as a bar against the English and a bulwark against the Iroquois on the Bay of Toronto at Lake Huron. At the same period no variation of the name is applied to any part of Lake Ontario. Later it appears on the Humber line of communication as Toronto River, while the route eastward from Lake Simcoe by the Otonabee and Trent is marked the same. The Toronto nations in Lahontan's time were the Torontogueronons, the same as the later Hurons or Wyandots. After the dispersal of the latter by the Iroquois, the Toronto nations worked southward, bringing some of their designation with them; and by evolution and elimination the word Toronto finally rested at the Landing and the mouth of the Humber.

The Governor of New France sent a colony to Detroit and established a garrison there, following it up with other forts in a chain that included Toronto. This, built a short distance east of the mouth of the river, was intended to protect the traders and their route from possible English and to intercept trade with the Indians. Rich stores of peltries passed out by this route, and it was worth while to give the trading-post enough of a garrison to style it a Fort. Its official name was Fort Rouillé, but a small settlement of Mississagas near the mouth of the river had already the old name, and soon Rouillé was exchanged, except in official correspondence, for Toronto. Built in 1749, its short life had a dramatic ending; but in the years that it served its purpose its stockaded wooden storehouse was well found in comforts, and the good red wine of France was housed there.

According to the Sulpitian Picquet, in 1752, who had been refreshed there after very ill fare elsewhere, the Mississagas had aspirations beyond the spiritual services previously offered them, and they expressed their sorrow that the French had established only a canteen there and not

a church. They welcomed him on his visit to the Fort, and begged him to persuade the French King to be as good to them as he had been to the Iroquois.

At every mention of the word Toronto a new discussion arises as to its derivation. The vexed question began as long ago as 1632 and 1636, when the Franciscan missionary, Gabriel Sagard, gives in his dictionary of the Huron language, "Toronto," much or plenty, applied to persons or to things; and his knowledge of his subject was gathered in the neighbourhood of Lake Simcoe.

Many baseless and unhistorical, sometimes silly, derivations have been put forth by hasty writers of books of travel, some even hazarding "Ronde d'eau, from the circular bay upon whose margin the town is built." Bonnycastle, who we assume ought to know better, in 1841 will have it to be the name of the Italian officer of engineers who built the fort. Karonta, in Mohawk "tree," opens the far-fetched derivation of "trees in water," a meaning conclusively proved wrong by Dr. Scadding. Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812 accepts the ignorant guess of a Mohawk interpreter, a guess that was an afterthought of later times, based on Indian words imperfectly understood by interpreters and others. Even Peter Jones accepts the Mohawk "looming of trees."

When Lahontan speaks of the Bay of Toronto he includes Matchedash Bay, going on to tell us that from the source of the Holland River "one can go into Lake Frontenac in making a portage as far as the River Tanaouate, which empties itself there." Matchedash is also Toronto in Moll's map of 1720.

The recurrence of the word *teiaiagon* in different localities is traceable to the Mississagas, who applied it to a landing or portage leading to some other important water route. Thus Toronto and its landing-place were long established by the time Gother Mann's map of 1788 was drawn. The old trail of the portage is designated as "part of the road towards Lake la Clie," the latter a corruption of Lac aux Claies, the Lake Toronto of La Salle's time.

As the Iroquois bear so directly on both mission and fort it is not amiss to give the explanation of Hirocois as offered by their historians. It is derived from two words meaning "a perfect house," in allusion to their well compacted confederacy. As early as 1654 the pride of application of this name was illustrated by a Mohawk chief who complained in a speech to the Governor of Canada that the embassy which the Jesuit Le Moyne had just undertaken to the Onondagas had not first visited the Mohawks, the portion of the house of superior position. "Is it not by the door of a house that you should enter? It is not by the chimney or the roof!" a forestalling of the disclaimer of an honest Canadian statesman who entered by the open door and not by some other way.

The Toronto Teiaiaagon was in its season a gay bazaar. In 1754 there were only five soldiers, one officer, two sergeants and a storekeeper, but a thriving trade was driven with the Mississagas and the bands from the north. At bartering time a village was quickly set up, and the Indians were tricked out in all the European gewgaws that made the principal exchange for their peltries. Father Picquet gives economic reasons why the maintenance of such a post was not desirable, as thereby the traffic at other posts on Lake Ontario would be diminished; but it thrived until the misfortunes of war closed it. As a Royal Post, its trade was for the benefit of the King's Exchequer; but despite the benefits of trade, the pleasures of rum made the storekeeper at Toronto run a daily risk. In 1752 he was informed by some trustworthy Indians that a branch of the Mississagas had dispersed themselves round the head of the Lake, with evil design in thus surrounding the fort. As M. de Longueuil wrote to his Minister at Versailles, "there is no doubt but it is the English who are inducing the Indians to destroy the French;" and a few years later there was a further example. Indians of different tribes had made comparisons between English milk and French milk, and their love of the beverage led them into constant mischief. Ninety Mississagas heard that the English had overcome the French, and decided to pillage the fort as

they passed it, even if it did belong to friends. Prompt action by the Commandant at Niagara saved both the fort and the rum, as told elsewhere.

Captain Pouchot, the last French Commandant at Niagara, thus describes Toronto: "The fort at the end of the bay, on the side which is quite elevated, is covered (protected) by flat rock, so that vessels cannot approach within cannon shot. . . . This post was a square of about thirty toises on a side externally, with flanks of fifteen feet. The curtains formed the buildings of the fort. It was very well built, piece upon piece, but was only useful for trade. . . . A league west of the fort is the Toronto river, which is of considerable size. This river communicates with Lake Huron by a portage of fifteen leagues, and is frequented by the Indians who come from the north."

At the date of the destruction of the fort a writer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* says England should restore Canada to France, that the French may, by means of their Indians, as they have done in the past ten years even in times of peace, carry on a constant scalping war against the Colonies and thereby stunt their growth, for otherwise the children might be as tall as their mother.

The fort was burned by order from Niagara 'on approach of the English, so that the latter found on their arrival nothing but five charred heaps. Gother Mann's plan of December, 1788, of the "Proposed Toronto Harbour" indicates the five buildings within the stockade. He outlined the ruins, then distinct; and the pits and irregularities of the soil were visible until 1878, although by that time a good deal of the space enclosed had fallen into the lake. The extinction of Fort Rouillé, Toronto, marked the end of a long period during which Canada was the shuttlecock between the battledores of France and England.

Following 1759 our Humber Bay was sometimes Toronto Bay, and the comparatively cleared triangular space round the French Fort described by Major Rogers in 1760 was Toronto; but in the Prevot copy of Holland's map, 1784, the Humber is Torento River, and the land

between it and the Fort is Toronto. The harbour is Toronto Bay. At that time the peninsula in front of the site afterwards chosen for the town of York was Presqu'isle, or Presqu'île, Toronto.

A second stage in the Humber picnics comes between the destruction of the fort and the settling of St. John, an enforced picnic, but definitely described.

La Vérendrye and his sons were the most adventurous of all the fur traders, and between 1731 and 1748 had established a series of posts extending from the Grand Portage to the Forks of the Saskatchewan. After 1759 the whole character of the trade was altered, and until the country had settled down after the Conquest but few licenses were issued. Soon the trade was free from all governmental influence, and Alexander Henry was among the first to obtain a permit. News and authority travelled slowly; he found the Indians not yet ready to recognize the change of government, and his disguise as a Frenchman was sometimes necessary for safety's sake. His address, fortitude and nimble wit preserved him in a long life of extraordinary adventure. By the Indians and at the Court of France he was known as "the handsome Englishman," and when at last he settled in Montreal he made himself as prominent in public life as he had been in the other.

But before his Montreal days he knew St. John's country too well for his personal comfort. His escape from death at Mackinac and his captivity were followed by his journey south by the Humber route in June, 1764, when the Indians agreed to take him to Sir William Johnson at Niagara. His party of sixteen Indians, otherwise his captors, brought him from Matchedash Bay to Lake aux Claires, which they crossed on the 18th of June. At the farther end of the lake they reached "the carrying-place of Toranto (or Toronto), the name of a French trading house on Lake Ontario, built near the site of the present town of York." At the carrying-place the Indians forced him to bear a heavy load on a narrow path through swamp and trees, at a quick pace beyond even his training. Next morning at ten they reached the shores of Lake Ontario,

stayed there two days and made canoes out of the bark of elm trees, and on June 21st "embarked at Toronto, and encamped in the evening four miles short of Fort Niagara."

On this first occasion Henry was an involuntary visitor; but a member of his family voluntarily brings the name into the history of the County of York two generations later, when Murray of a Canadian Blair Athol married the traveller's grand-daughter.

By the time St. John's log house was built "on the Toronto river, by some called St. John's, now the Humber," and his cherry trees were in bloom, a few settlers began to know of Toronto. After the peace, disbanded troops were allotted lands, and by 1795 orchards were in "great forwardness." Peaches, cherries and currants were there in plenty, and in 1791, when settled government was about to begin, the hospitable log house with its orchard of cherry trees was ready to receive the earliest British guests.

VI.

THE HUMBER OF ST. JOHN.

THE Chief Factor of Toronto, the pioneer of nursery-men, the first Laird of the Humber, are some of the titles that belong to St. John.

The mythical beginnings of such men as he may date from adventurers like Groseilliers or clerks like J. J. Astor. Under the French régime furs had been the chief article of commerce; and in spite of governmental restrictions the enterprising traders had gradually extended their routes to Michillimackinac from the original St. Lawrence neighbourhood. The failure and mismanagement of the great French fur companies left the way open to those whom Masson calls "the Coureurs des Bois, those heroes of the prairie and the forest, regular mixture of good and evil, who for long furnished the heroes of the modern romances, extravagant by nature, at the same time grave and gay, cruel and compassionate, as credulous as superstitious." Two of these, Radisson and Groseilliers, after being driven into the hands of the English in the seventeenth century, were instrumental in establishing the Hudson's Bay Company; and later, the French-Canadians, who were the best canoemen and bushmen in the world, were consistently made use of by companies and single owners alike. Alexander Henry, who succeeded in prominence the adventurers of 1730, gradually deputed the active part of his trade to younger men, training them at his headquarters in Montreal. J. J. Astor was one of the youths whose name we know; but the training of St. John is dim in the haze of conjecture.

Pouchot speaks of the place as important, with its river of considerable size and its passing trade. Such a spot would easily commend itself to a Frenchman who wished to give up the hard work of constant journeyings; and

with a view of great beauty, fertile soil and good timber, a constant barter in peltries, abundance of fish and game at his door, St. John is self-established as the Chief Factor of the Toronto.

The narrative of Major Robert Rogers gives his opinion of the place as a site for a factory, when he passed it on his way to Detroit in 1760, ten years before St. John made himself Factor. By 1761 the name had a definite meaning in the minds of some writers of despatches, for it was then used as the designation of the settlement alone. Sir William Johnson's official report in 1767 to the Earl of Shelburne stated that experienced traders would willingly have given one thousand pounds for the monopoly of the trade with the Indians at Fort Toronto for one season. But little trade of a licensed kind was carried on after the Conquest. Sir William reported the presence of unlicensed traders, and the place was afterwards supposedly abandoned.

But St. John knew better. Occasionally, for legal purposes, he is called Jean Baptiste Rousseau, and on very few occasions he uses that name in his signature. His ordinary custom was to keep to the simple name St. Jean. Thus we find it in 1770, in his trader's licence. The licence was granted for one year to St. Jean Rousseau, to pass unmolested with one canoe and six men, from Montreal to Toronto, with liberty to dispose of his goods and effects as he should occasionally find a market for in his passage. The merchandise itemized in the document was: eighty gallons of rum and brandy, sixteen gallons of wine, four fusils, three hundred pounds of gunpowder, six hundred-weight of shot and balls, in all amounting to three hundred pounds of lawful money of the said Province or thereabouts; signed upon the oath of St. Jean, and given under the hand and seal of the President of His Majesty's Council, the Honourable Hector Cramahé, at Quebec, September 13, 1770.

In the Oath of Allegiance attached was a promise not to stir up strife or mischief among the Indians, "but as much as in me lies to promote Peace and Union amongst His Majesty's Old and New Subjects and the Savage Nations."

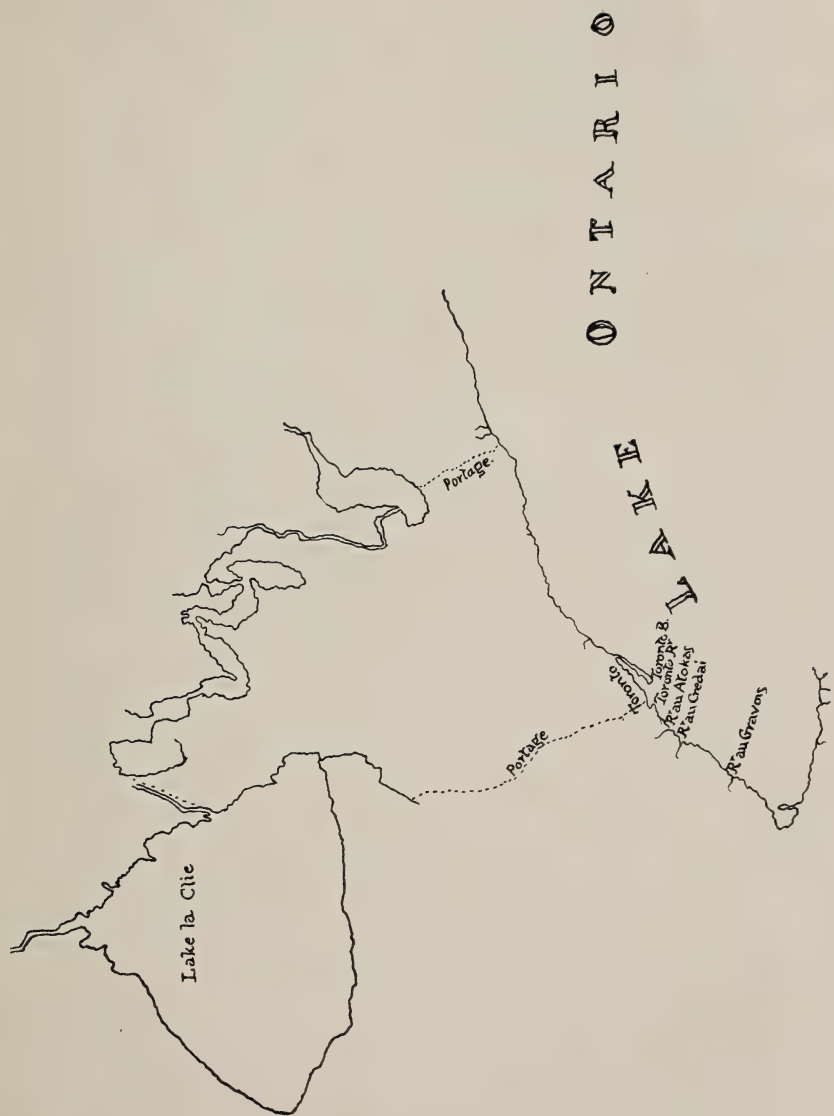
His bond declared that he, St. Jean Rousseau, of the City of Montreal, Merchant, was bound in the full sum of six hundred pounds for his licence to trade with the Indian Nations living under His Majesty's Protection at Toronto, and from thence to any markets or parts which he should find most advantageous for the sale of his merchandise. If the said St. Jean Rousseau well and truly conformed to and performed the several conditions recited in the Licence the obligation should be void.

He is spoken of as interpreter to the Indian Superintendent, Daniel Claus; and despite his continued trading, kept up his work of interpreter between Montreal and the Head of the Lake. A message sent by Colonel Claus in August, 1772, to the Indians above Carillon bears his name. But the message was delayed by so humble a thing as measles, for Colonel Claus writes to the Governor (Haldimand) that the message which was intended to be sent on receipt of the Governor's instructions was delayed because the interpreter was unexpectedly seized with measles, "which laid him up for some days, and last Monday, finding him able to go with said Message I despatched him accordingly."

About this time his Toronto neighbours were recognized by map. In the Guy Johnson map of 1771 the country of the Six Nations is bounded by Lake Ontario on the north; and on the north side of the lake, properly placed for the Humber, is a river without name; by it is a place-name, Toronto, and a small tract on the shore by the river is marked "Missisagas."

At this settlement by the shore the elm canoes were made, described by Pouchot and Henry. The bark was removed in one piece, the roughest parts were shaved, "of which they make the inside of the canoe;" and after an elaborate process the last touch was chewing gum crowded in with a hot coal, to cover the sewing.

Before 1860, school books credited Upper Canada with twenty-two principal rivers, irrespective of the large boundary streams. On the banks of one of the twenty-two the first orchard was set; and it is the carrying-place men-



THE WORD TORONTO FINALLY RESTED AT THE LANDING AND THE MOUTH OF THE HUMBER.
 From a Gother Mann map of 1791.

tioned in 1785 by Benjamin Frobisher when he describes his meetings with several persons who have travelled from Montreal to Lake Huron.

For services rendered between the date of the planting of the cherry trees and the passing by of Frobisher's acquaintances, St. John had tried to turn himself from a squatter into an inhabitant householder. His services as interpreter were not recognized by land at this end of the Province. A petition designating him as having been Indian Interpreter in 1775 and 1776 states that he considers himself entitled to one thousand acres, and that he has received only five hundred. He therefore prays that he may take five hundred between Lake Simcoe and York, and one thousand on some unlocated lands of the Crown. The simple endorsation in June, 1794, is "Order the Petition dismissed."

Disappointment was entailed in such a dismissal; for he had already been recommended for lot 34 in the 1st concession. He continues in prominence as an interpreter, for his signature appears on the Toronto Purchase in 1787, and again on its completion in 1805. In the interval he evidently had friends who wished to see his settlement and services rewarded, for "the Committee beg leave to lay before your Excellency a Schedule of the persons to whom farm lots have been ordered and to recommend by confirmation of deed those to whom they find assignments have issued, and those who not under assignments they find either settled in the Vicinage of York or making some advance toward an improvement in their respective lots.—Schedule as under, Sept. 2, 1793, J. B. Rousseau,"—for a certain part of lot 34 of the first concession of York. "Recommended."

By 1793 the surveyors have discovered his domicile, and his name comes into the Surveyor General's records. In that year, and not far east of the river, the new Governor and his Rangers encamped and prepared huts for the winter. Also in that year Aitken and Jones surveyed the front line of the township of York, from Scarboro till the line "strikes the Toronto River whereon St. John is

settled," the concessions of one hundred chains deep and one chain between each concession, to the extent of twelve miles. Jones had been the surveyor before his Excellency's arrival, and, after they had met in Council, went with him to look at the situation of the town of York. His field notes show Sept. 5th rainy; on the 6th at eight o'clock set out from camp at York; stopped at Mr. St. John's on the Humber to take in provisions and went to the River Credit. On the 10th the men baked their bread and ground their axes, when a beginning was made at opening the Road.

On the water-colour plan of 1798 the only house is marked "St. John's;" and in the early field books and diaries he is the host of all parties as they leave for or return from the north. In 1791 Augustus Jones essayed the survey of the whole of the north shore; and in the next year when he began again behind Humber Bay, he noted that he came upon "an Indian footpath leading to Lake La Clie, near a pond of St. John's."

After these various surveys, St. John began to be of service to the Governor and his lady, and to the Queen's Rangers from time to time. Although prominence is usually given only to the advantages of the bay in front of York and the geographical position of the arsenal, it is also supposed that Simcoe's shrewd eye saw the advantage of the Pass at Toronto. It is true that his interests were given to road-making; but it is also true that it was in his time the idea of a Georgian Bay canal had its birth.

The trader's intercourse with the Queen's Rangers was useful, for in addition to his possession of supplies he was host of the river and in general a man of knowledge, and the township on the opposite bank, "Etobicocke," was selected for the settlement of the corps "after they shall be disbanded." In the abstract of Contingent Disbursements in the Surveyor General's Department from 10th October, 1792, to 10th April, 1793, is an item, "To D. W. Smith, what paid J. B. Rousseau for a party in April near Toronto, by order of the Lieutenant-Governor, £7.10.0." Much money was paid to him throughout these years by Augustus Jones, C. Robinson, the surveyors, and all others

whose account sheets show any connection with the river or trail, even up to sums of £100. The seven pounds ten at five shillings in the dollar, paid for a party in April, 1793, were followed by other sums and parties until, in the autumn, St. John's was the starting-point for a tour of exploration. An occasional picnic made by the Governor's lady gives way before the serious expedition of the Governor on a possible canal route to the upper waters. The diary of one of the members has been made public in a pamphlet, and is too valuable to be offered in a fully condensed form.

On September 24, 1793, Lieutenants Pilkington, Darling and Givens, and W. Aitken, D.P.S., "with two Lake La Claie and two Matchetache Indians embarked on a batteau, and went that night to Mr. St. John's, on the River Humber." They were joined on the 25th by His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, from York. "We shortly afterwards were ready, and entered the woods, keeping our course about N.N.W.; crossed a long pine ridge. About one o'clock dined upon a small river which empties itself into the Humber, and to make the loads lighter took the bones out of the pork. After dinner reloaded our horses and pursued our way. About four o'clock, it beginning to rain, we encamped on the side of the Humber, at the west extremity of the third concession. We here got some wild grapes, and a quantity of crawfish.

"26th. At eight o'clock we continued our journey. In the early part of the day we went over a pine ridge; but from ten till six in the evening, when we encamped, went through excellent land for grain or grass, the trees uncommonly large and tall, especially the pine. Crossed two small creeks which emptied themselves into the Humber, on one of which, Drunken Creek, we dined, and encamped on the second. The land through which we passed is chiefly wooded with maple, bass, beech, pine and cedar. During this day's march we passed the encampment of an Indian trader, who was on his way to his wintering ground on Lake La Claie.

"27th. Proceeded on early in the morning. Shortly after leaving our fires went through a ridge of very fine

pine, which appeared to be bounded by a deep ravine to the north. After crossing in an oblique direction the pine ridge, went over excellent land, black rich mould; timber, maple, beech, black birch and bass. Crossed a ravine and ascended a small eminence of indifferent land. This height terminated in a point, and a gradual descent to the River Humber, which we crossed. We dined here and remained two hours to refresh ourselves and horses. While at dinner, two men with two horses, who left the end of the carrying place in the morning, met us. They were going to bring forward the trader which we passed the preceding day, and his goods. After dinner, we proceeded on. Went over very uneven ground, the soil in some places indifferent, but in general not bad land. Saw some very fine yellow pine and black birch. About six o'clock came to the end of the carrying place and encamped. Here found Mr. Cuthbertson, Indian trader and owner of hut we passed the day before, encamped."

After they had crossed the Humber on the 27th we could very well leave them until their return to the lower end of the carrying-place, if it were not for their meeting with Great Tail, one of the early Lairds of Humberside.

"28th. After breakfast, Messrs. Givens and Aitken, with two Indians and two white men, went up the river for three canoes which had been previously provided for the Governor, and I went with three rangers to erect a stage near the river to put the pork on. . . Having accomplished this, upon our return we cut a few trees to make a bridge upon a bad pass in the swamp. Returned to camp about two o'clock and shortly afterwards to the stage with seven of the rangers, all with packs, which we put upon the stage. We here met Messrs. Givens and Aitken, having returned with the canoes. The whole then returned to camp, only me, who remained to take care of the baggage. In about two hours the whole camp came down, and we immediately embarked in five canoes, viz., the Governor, Mr. Aitken, an Indian and two rangers in one; Messrs. Pilkington and Darling with their two servants in a third; an Indian with two rangers with me in the fourth; and

LAKE
LE CLIE



THE CARRYING-PLACE MENTIONED BY BENJAMIN FROBISHER IN 1785.

From a Plan of the New
Settlements, 1789.

Mr. Aitken's surveying party in the fifth. We dragged our canoes till we came to the river, over a part of the swamp where it would be impossible to walk without their support, it being a quagmire, the skin or surface of which was very thin. Proceeded about a mile and a half or two miles along the river, which in this short distance has several turns. Went about a quarter of a mile up a smaller river which empties itself into the former, and encamped. Soon after making our fire the Great Tail and his family (Messengers), who were encamped further up the river, came to visit their Great Father, the Governor, to whom they presented a pair of ducks, some beaver's meat, and a beaver's tail. His Excellency gave them some rum and tobacco.

"29th. Embarked in our canoes in the same manner as in the preceding day, paddled down the river, which is a dead water, bordered on each side with quagmires similar to the one we hauled our canoes over. . . . At twenty minutes after one we entered Lake La Claie, now Lake Simcoe, so called in memory of Captain Simcoe, R.N."

From then until the 6th of October the entries describe the balance of the trip to Matchetache Bay, and "a fine view of Lake Huron." On the 6th they set out on the homeward journey, and on the 12th reached the encampment they had made on September 28th. "Saw many ducks, but so wild that we could not get within shot of them; only killed one mud hen."

On the day before, "His Excellency, finding that John Vincall, the man who had cut his toe on the 2nd, could not walk, desired Mr. Givens, his servant and me to remain with him, and that upon his arrival at York he would send a horse to meet us at the old carrying place, for the man to ride; therefore after dividing our little stock of provision and dining together, we parted; the Governor and the rest of the party going to York by a new route, Givens, McEwen, Vincall and myself remaining. It beginning to rain, we encamped there that night."

Short rations and illness delayed this party; and Great Tail and his family on their way to their wintering ground

were again useful. On the 17th "we soon reached the stage which we had erected on the 28th, and in two trips carried everything up to our old encampment. When we returned to the stage the second time we there met two of Great Tail's sons, who came to bring three more ducks and to bring back the canoe we had borrowed. We gave the boys a few yards of ribbon each, and had given their father at parting in the morning all the powder and shot that we could spare. They were satisfied and we were pleased. Soon after encamping and putting on the fire a kettle full of Indian corn and a few ducks for our supper, Sergeant Mailey and another man of the Rangers, guided by one of the three Indians who went with His Excellency (the other two remained behind them a short distance), arrived from York with a horse for the lame man. The Governor was pleased to send us by them brandy, wine, tea, sugar, pork and bread. We made a hearty supper, and concluding the evening with a can of grog to his health, went to bed."

On the 18th they packed everything up, caught the strayed horse, parted with the Indians, and "at eleven o'clock marched on. At four o'clock we arrived at the Humber, crossed it and encamped, the horse being too fatigued to proceed, having had a forced march the day before.

"19th. Though it rained all the night before, set out by daylight. At twelve o'clock halted at the creek where we met the trader's tent on the 26th, and breakfasted. At one o'clock continued our journey, and at three came to the spot where we had encamped on the 25th, stopped for about a quarter of an hour, then pushed on, and arrived at St. John's a little past four in the evening, and slept there that night.

"20th. Left St. John's after breakfast, and arrived at the camp at York at ten o'clock, having been absent twenty-seven days, without any accident happening, except Vincall cutting his toe."

The wigwams that were found near the mouth of the river were outshone by the Governor's famous canvas house, Captain Cook's tent, probably first set up at the

State Papers
H. I. 1798



IN THE EARLY FIELD BOOKS AND DIARIES, ST. JOHN IS THE HOST OF ALL PARTIES AS THEY LEAVE FOR OR RETURN FROM THE NORTH.

Toronto Landing, a little eastward of the wigwams, on arrival of the *Mississaga* with the Governor from Newark. This large tent had been especially constructed for Captain Cook, to be taken with him for his own use on his voyages of discovery, and when his effects were sold in London it was bought by Simcoe.

In it, as in their later house, Mrs. Simcoe helped her husband in both social and engineering work. She was his best private secretary, and a dependable draftsman and map-maker. Very young when she married Colonel Simcoe in 1782, her interest had already been stirred in Canada through her father's connection with Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, and she entered with spirit into all the details of life in the new province. Her rides and power of mapping the land as she knew it, her delight in the scenery and her gift in describing it in sketch or paragraph, have a large place in the records of the Humber. One of her formal maps once suffered an almost irretrievable disaster, when her hound, "Trojan, was left in my room while I went to dinner, and he tore to pieces my best map of Canada and the United States, which I had taken the greatest pains to draw. I must paste it together again." The French Count who visited the Governor in Newark and received much kindness from his hosts, describes Mrs. Simcoe as thirty-six, bashful and speaking little; a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, "and fulfils all the duties of wife and mother with the most scrupulous exactness." A visitor of some distinction and occasional absurdity writes in 1792 that "she is a lady of manners, highly interesting, equally distant from hauteur or levity; accustomed to fashionable life, she submits with cheerfulness to the inevitable inconvenience of an infant colony; her conduct is perfectly exemplary, and admirably conformed to that correct model which ought to be placed before a people whom a high pattern of dissipation would mislead, of extravagance would ruin." Whether twenty-six or thirty-six, Mrs. Simcoe charmed these men alike. The impediment of speech which rendered conversation irksome, mentioned by a less agreeable but equally admiring writer, was not a

matter of great moment in the lasting impression she conveyed.

She was an untiring horsewoman, and loved the paths where brook and road were sometimes fellow travellers. A portion of the trail in use in her time was the bold zig-zag noted with a double row of dotted lines towards the mouth of the river, and inscribed "part of the road towards Lake La Clie," by Gother Mann. She searched out all the bridle paths or passable cleared spots, and a favourite ride was a ridge of land that she insists extended "near a mile beyond St. John's House, three hundred feet high and not more than three feet wide," the bank towards the river of smooth turf. She explored the place by foot-path, too, and once the fatigues of a walk through the woods near the French fort made her decline an expedition to see a mill at St. John's Creek, whence "the Governor brought me some very good cakes. The miller's wife is from the United States, where the women excel in making cakes and bread."

Her husband's prophecies for his Province were but a continuation of those of the historian Lescarbot when he made Moses speak for the land of Champlain,—"a good land, a land of brooks and water, of fountains and depths, a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it."

Simcoe was of Eton and Merton; then an ensign in the 35th Foot; wounded at the Brandywine in 1777, then appointed by Sir William Howe to the command, with the rank of major, of the celebrated provincial regiment the Queen's Rangers; was taken prisoner and released in 1779, and returned to England from his brilliant share in the American war in 1781. He was elected to Parliament in 1790; and then, happily, was sent out as Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada. He sailed from Weymouth in 1791 in the *Triton*, with his wife and two children, accompanied by a young man who, years afterwards, was to leave a lasting memorial to his own name in Canada, Lieutenant Talbot.

The Governor's reign in the country was all too short. Recalled to England, he left from Quebec in September,

1796, and foreign appointments and illness were followed by his return to England, where he died in October, 1806. From the moment of his appointment to Canada, and before sailing for it, he showed his intense interest in and knowledge of the country, as proved in his letters in May, 1791, to the man in whose *Gazetteer* is the first description of the province, David William Smyth—afterwards Smith.

Unfortunately the Governor disliked the aboriginal name sufficiently to make him call it outlandish, and Toronto gave way to York. The north of England names began to be in use, and the Humber, with perhaps some influence added from that Humber near his Devonshire estate, displaced the Toronto and St. John's Creek. But map-makers were slower, and in 1814 an elaborate book on the country contained a map especially engraved for it, in which there were four tracings on the north shore of the Lake, viz., Kingston; the water chain to Lake Huron almost directly westward from the bay that represents Quinté; York; and a river with "Fort" at its mouth, which, by the scale, is a long way from York.

The shipyard on the Humber was important in the eyes of the Governor, and ships' carpenters were imported for the work that was intended to be serious, men who lived in the United States and returned to their homes for the winter. It was proposed to build gunboats to add to the fleet on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; and had his plans been carried out and the naval yards on the Humber enlarged, Ontario, and especially Toronto, would have had a better tale to tell of 1812.

The yards under Joseph Dennis were responsible for the building of the Toronto Yacht in 1799. The *Gazette* of September 14th of that year, says, in magnificent periods perhaps penned by a landsman, that she was one of the handsomest vessels that ever swam upon Lake Ontario, and reflected great credit upon her master-builder. In 1805 the *Gazette* shows the Toronto Yacht to the rescue of a boat from the Credit,—“a boat containing four persons overset near the Garrison;” and although aid from the Yacht was promptly sent, only three persons were rescued.

The Governor's name remained for long on the river bank. Statesman, scholar, and honest soldier, he was averse to all speculation in land, and was always personally disinterested. Of his successor it was said he was more anxious to acquire lands than to make roads, and we still have the quotation, "I, Peter Russell, convey to you, Peter Russell." The early years of that century show several Acts by which it was made easy for persons to hold property who for various reasons could not produce a patent; but the earliest arrival had neither patent granted nor permanent possession allowed; and the name St. John drifts out of the ken of the Humber.

The white man came with his mills and industrial life; the trading-post turns into Mr. St. John's House where we breakfasted, or perhaps supped, and so to bed; the orchard and the cherry trees in bloom are no more mentioned; and at last, in the twentieth century, we read merely of the east bank whereon the English had found a French trader settled.



"THE TORONTO RIVER, SOMETIMES CALLED ST. JOHN'S CREEK, NOW THE HUMBER."

VII.

THE LAKE SHORE ROAD.

FROM the hour when he first spied out the land, the projection of great roads was never absent from the Governor's mind.

An expert article in the *University Magazine* condenses the history of roads in general in a manner that is important to the present sketch of the Humber roads in particular. The writer says: "When classified according to their mode of construction, the early roads of Canada fall into five different clauses, the bridle roads, the winter roads, the corduroy roads, the common or graded roads, and the turnpikes. . . . In the more settled parts of Canada the construction of the turnpike with its artificial roadbed began with the opening of the nineteenth century. . . . In Upper Canada the turnpikes were controlled by joint stock companies in the main, and were kept in miserable condition. . . . The second great road of Canada before the war of 1812 followed the route taken later by the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways, running from Quebec to Montreal, Coteau du Lac and Cornwall to Kingston and York. From York it ran to Michilimackinac by Fort Erie and Detroit, a total distance of 1,107 miles." The far-seeing policy of Governor Simcoe, in the making of those two great arteries named in honour of his friends, has its justification.

The Indian Express, our Mississauga postmen, served the Governor well, equally when he was stationary or on his exploring tours, a safe and swift method of sending documents and news, and in use even up to the time of the much loved Peter Jones.

Thus the Lake Shore Road in embryo preceded Simcoe. The Mississauga trail beaten deep, and the succeeding roads of early maps, are obliterated in the new land made at

Exhibition Park, the harsh modern name for the neighbourhood of the French Fort. Close by the infant Lake Shore Road was placed Captain Cook's tent, and in it the first hospitalities of the new Province were dispensed, on the thoroughfare of the day as used by St. John and his trading Indians.

The surveyor, Augustus Jones, was at work in 1791, and after the Governor's arrival surveys were continuous. State papers and private correspondence at the end of the eighteenth century show a care in expenditure creditable to the head offices, but daily hampering to the men who carried out the work. Jones writes to the Honourable D. W. Smith in August 1798, asking for a larger allowance in his work near the Humber Mills: "In opening the road that I am now at, I find it is actually necessary to have two yoke of oxen for hauling the timbers for the bridges, as the men cannot move timber of a sufficient size. A plough will also be of great use in levelling off the small hills. Should it be in your power to procure the above mentioned, you will much forward the work."

In the proposals of November of that year for the building of the bridges over the Humber and Credit, one man offers to build and find all the stuff for seven hundred and fifty dollars, the document an illiterate one and no indication given in it as to the price being for one or both. A proposal from Abner Miles in August had been endorsed as read in Council and referred for further consideration; it engages to build good and sufficient frame bridges for the sum of six hundred dollars each, to warrant them good for four years, and to have them completed on or before the first of January following.

When the track on the shore in front of the town began its small changes, Lot Street (Queen), then the northern limit, in a right line westwards merged into the Lake Shore Road, the immemorial trail. After passing the steep descent to the sands, it skirted the curve of Humber Bay, and then followed the irregular line of the shore all the way to the head of the Lake. The Lake was the body from which all lesser things took their reckoning, and the

*a section from a survey of
 Sketch of a Route from York Town on Lake Ontario to Pualungashien on Lake Huron, Upper Canada,
 by A. B. Pilkington in the year 1793.*



ST. JOHN'S WAS THE STARTING-POINT FOR A TOUR OF EXPLORATION.

detours north, shown in the early maps, were not counted as important deviations in the "road by the lake."

An intersection of the Old Road is Dufferin Street, one of the lines laid out in the original survey by Augustus Jones between every fifth two-hundred acre lot in the range extending from the Humber to the Scarboro line. At the foot of Dufferin Street is the keynote of the modern scale. The Trading-Post set the date for the restrictions of the pathway, widening the trail between it and the mouth of the river; the Toronto Landing was the spot at which the new Governor stepped from the *Mississaga*; and the Dufferin Street jetty, even if on made land, perpetuates the memory of a Governor who would have rejoiced at the laying out of the Kingsway in the west and at the making of the Harbour Board map of the margins of the bay. In the Bonnycastle map of the portion "of the Military Reserve to be sold and the dams in the Garrison Creek to be flooded in case of war or danger," is also the "Road to Niagara by the Beach," marked at the junction with the "concession road not opened" as 1,600 yards from the lake.

A public advertisement in August, 1804, asked for proposals from persons who desired to contract for opening and repairing the road and building bridges between the town of York and the head of Burlington Bay. The tenderer was to enumerate "at what price per mile such person will open and clear out such part of the road leading from Lot Street, adjoining the town of York (beginning at Peter Street) to the mouth of the Humber, of the width of 33 feet, as shall not be found to stand in need of any causeway. With the price also per rod at which such party will engage to open, clear out, and causeway, such other part of the same road as shall require to be causewayed, and the last mentioned price to include as well the opening and clearing out, as the causewaying such road. The causewaying to be 18 feet wide; as also the price at which any person will engage to build bridges upon the said road of the width of 18 feet."

The road was not on a permanent bed, and its condi-

tion on any bed remained bad. It had many advocates, but few powerful friends, for the petitions were numerous, and most of them were dropped. For years before 1836 there was an almost continuous effort to secure improvement and turnpiking; but, such as it was, the road was a thoroughfare. In 1825 Chaunsey Beadle, undeterred by its condition, petitioned for the exclusive rights in a line of stage coaches between York and Niagara; and ten years later its terrors were braved by William Weller of the Telegraph Line, who contracted to take passengers through by daylight in winter to Hamilton.

Before and during these attempts at stage-coaching, the York press made merry on the defences of the town and its impregnable position from east and west. In 1824 the decayed bridges over the marshes and current of the Humber and the Don, similar structures, were sometimes impassable at the same moment. A long wooden viaduct, about twenty-five feet above the marsh, was built on a series of ten trestles of hewn timber supporting a roadway of plank, which had lasted since 1809. In 1810 the Humber was crossed also by a ferry, with charges exorbitant. In that year the inhabitants of Etobicoke complained to the magistrates in session at York of the excessive toll, with the result that a new scale was struck—for each foot passenger, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.; for every hog, 1d.; for every sheep, the same; for horned cattle, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. each; for every horse and rider, 5d.; for every carriage drawn by two horses, 1s. 3d., which included the driver; for every carriage with one horse, 1s.

In 1815, McLean's Inn at the mouth of the river was the only rest for travellers for many miles. Between the day of the Scotchman's ferry and the erection of the Royal Oak on the opposite bank, the hostesses were Mrs. McLean and Mrs. Creighton; but the building was destroyed with the advent of the Great Western Railway. The map shows the swing bridge and range of inn buildings on the east side, with the reservation near by for the Scottish Kirk. The Royal Oak of later date, on the west, built on a clay knoll set in marsh-land, was aptly named from the tree that

a wise owner considered too desirable to sacrifice; the verandah was made to enclose it without injury, and the proprietor took his ease beneath the shadow of his own roof tree.

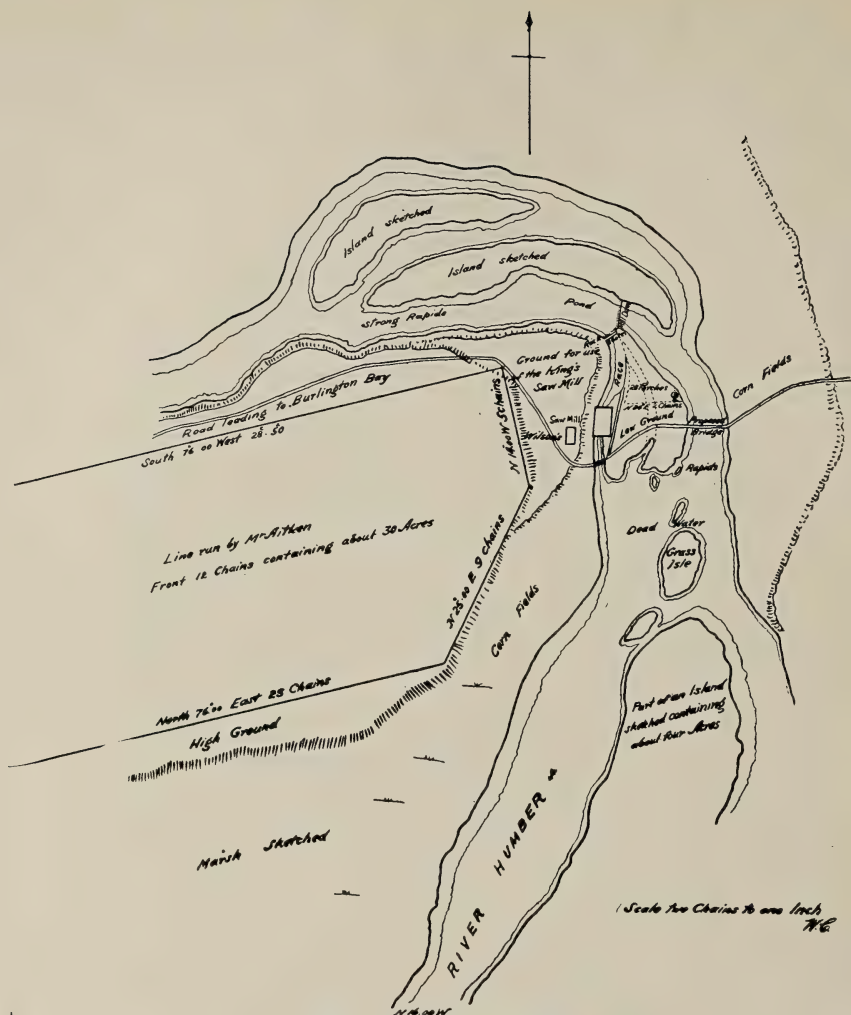
The roads proposed, and the roads proposed to be closed, were many. The Lake Shore and Dundas Street counted their usefulness from Niagara and Detroit, and the study of maps grows more interesting as time obliterates landmarks. The Senior Officer of the Western District in 1833 signs one map entitled A Plan of the Town and Harbour of York and Military Reserve. In it Lot Street is continued from its north-west boundary of the Military Reserve as "Road to Niagara." The space between the Reserve's western boundary and the beach line until the joining of that road and the beach, is in its eastern two-thirds "commonly called Brock's Land and now clearing;" and the western third, in the bend of the bay, is yet in forest. By the junction of the shore line and road is a sudden descent; and at the beginning of the junction as it goes westward is "sand beach of Humber Bay;" and again, "sand," as the sweep indicates the route to the river, a mile and a half to the bridge at the mouth. A little west of the joining of road and shore is written "On this side of the narrow belt of sand is a series of ponds and marshes separated by lofty hummocks and ridges of sand, covered by a pine forest." On Lot Street, at the west of Garrison Creek ravine, is the licence indication of Farr's Brewery; and west of that is the plot, 8 4-10 acres, bounded on the north by Lot Street, marked "licence of occupation to Lt.-Col. Givins, Supt. of Indian Affairs." By the Givins north-west corner and between blocks 24 and 25 the Upper Road to Niagara takes off.

That gay little historian, Sir Francis Bond Head, loved his daily ride, and one of his small adventures had to do with the "sand" of that map. As he reached the shore he found a group of men engaged in raising an enormous land tortoise which had burrowed deep; a hatful of eggs about the size of canister shot, and the mother roasted, and that was the end of that adventure. Many of his rides

were westward, and he gives full space to the Lake Shore, especially to the turtle and the lunatic. Soon after he had left the former and her captors he came upon two men holding a weak-looking middle-aged person who offered no resistance, and who, they declared, was insane. He was determined to drown himself in the Lake or in the Grenadiers' Pond. "Now, the beautiful blue lake, covered with a healthy ripple and extending as far as the eye could reach, was close to us; and on the other side, within fifty yards of us, there was hidden in the forest a horrid miry little spot, called the Grenadiers' Pond, because a party of English soldiers in endeavouring during the war to cross it in a boat, had been upset, and after floundering in the mud had sunk, and were there still." The lunatic was taken to Toronto, escaped, was seen near the pond, and then disappeared. "If he had gone into the lake his body in due course would have been washed on shore; but as this did not happen, well knowing where he was, I often rode to the Grenadiers' Pond to indulge for a few moments in feelings

" Sacred
" To the memory of
" A Poor Lunatic."

Bond Head's beautiful blue lake with its healthy ripple provides the Humber with a shallow and treacherous bay that demands what protection is possible; and from Hennepin and La Motte, to the loss near by in 1780 of the *Ontario* with her crew and thirty men of the 34th, to J. G. Howard's picture of the schooner *Pacific* in 1861, on to the weekly register of canoe upsets of to-day, the bay and its neighbouring waters have been paid a long toll. There are not always men at hand like Hicks, Duck or Nurse, able and willing in the work of rescue; and the marshes have contributed their share of tragedy. The welcome comic is sometimes found, as in the fat years when water-fowl could be raised in clouds. Duck were plenty and one sportsman over-eager, and he had the ill luck to send the contents of his gun through the bottom of the canoe. So



he tore off his coat, folded it over the orifice, sat down firmly and paddled for dear life to shore, which he reached with the water up to his hips.

A disagreeable disposition domiciled here in the 'twenties writes of the low marshy land of Toronto as a site better fitted for a frog pond than a city. But there is a degree of truth in his statement that the inhabitants were then afflicted with ague and intermittent fevers, "about five-sevenths of the people annually suffering from these diseases." The malady called lake fever baffled all knowledge, and pioneers of the Humber within the influence of its bay paid their dues to it. A writer with much good work and many interesting pages to his credit says that lake fever proceeds from a kind of putrefaction that takes place along the shores in the hot season, and that newcomers, fresh from the salt of the ocean, were more prone to it. Sometimes but not generally fatal, the fever and ague of Canada differed from that of other countries, baffling the faculty. In the summer of 1828 sickness raged like a plague, nothing but lake fevers all along the shores. A strange oily brown substance, called lake oil, was found floating in warm weather, which, although not analyzed, was thought to be an antidote; but Mr. D'Arcy Boulton of 1805 says frankly that lake fevers originated in general from indiscretion.

The bogs near York, or indeed into the later days of Toronto, held many monsters, chief of which was a frog as large as a Cheshire cat. Other timid ones saw frogs as large as chickens; and Mrs. Simcoe, who is not to be doubted, came upon one a foot long seated on the end of a plank, eyes like saucers and with a double bass voice. She shook her parasol at him and he plunged to the bottom. In the half-opened tracks called roads the *Taxus Canadensis* stretched its trailers, some of them twenty feet in length and as heavy and strong as cart-ropes. Picture the feelings of a newcomer as in the dusk his horse's hoofs were caught in the arms of a land-devilfish and a Cheshire-cat frog made a mighty leap close by.

The word corduroy with its memories was anathema. In 1827 a visitor at the Mississauga settlement "chose to follow the Credit until it fell into Lake Ontario, after which we put our heads to the eastward and continued along the shore nearly to York. This road, being formed of the trunks of trees laid crosswise, without any coating of earth or stones, was more abominably jolty than anything a European imagination can conceive. Over these horrible wooden causeways, technically called corduroy roads, it would be misery to travel in any kind of carriage." His honest cheerfulness confesses that the miseries of his journey by the Lake were more than atoned for on his arrival at York by the hospitality of people he had never seen before.

According to his own temper, to the condition of his equipage, or the wisdom of his horse, did the traveller from abroad judge the roads.

The original corduroy of the horrible causeways is no doubt lost under the extinct first road which lies in the Lake. But of another, to us apparently the original, some pieces were cut out in the third week in January, 1913, during the laying of pipe. One of the Statutes passed in the fifth session of our sixth Parliament was an Act to continue and amend one entitled An Act to prevent damage to Travellers on Highways. The battered condition of travellers kept the Act constantly in mind, and in the succeeding years there were efforts to have it as constantly amended.

Bridges and roads were necessarily always in mind. Gourlay's wrongheadedness and spirit of retaliation did not always cloud his judgment, and he emphatically stated that the duties of absentee landholders were no more than begun when they were made to contribute to the improvement of roads.

Representation had been made to the Governor that there were no funds out of which to build the new bridges desired by the magistrates of York; and in August, 1829, the following letter was sent by the Secretary at Government House to the Receiver-General:

“Sir, the magistrates of York having represented to me that they have no means of constructing the bridges over the Rivers Humber and Don; and the great road of communication of the Province being interrupted by the dangerous state in which the old bridges now remain; the Lieutenant-Governor directs me to acquaint you that he has authorised the magistrates to enter into a contract for the construction of two bridges across these rivers; and he begs that you will have the goodness to advance such sums as may be necessary to complete the same, when the magistrates have exhausted their funds; and His Excellency desires that his own salary may be considered chargeable with the amount till he is authorised to issue a warrant for the amount advanced.”

The Committee's Report in February, 1830, scathingly rebukes the rejection of the former Bill and describes the dilapidated condition of the bridges, which but for His Excellency's public spirit would have been left unchanged indefinitely. In July, 1829, the Governor's Secretary had sent a letter to Alex. McDonell, Esq., Chairman of Quarter Sessions, representing the dangerous condition of the bridges; and in the correspondence between the Secretary, the Clerk of the Peace, and the Commissioners appointed to contract for and superintend the work, it appears that £550 was expended for the Humber bridge and approach to it. Of this, £50 was to be defrayed by the magistrates of the District.

At the time of her arrival in Canada, Mrs. Jameson, that “intellectual enchantress,” was known in England and on the Continent as a brilliant mind and keen observer; but her domestic circumstances here were sufficiently unhappy to make her realize that she must either grow moody or seek a sharp distraction. To do the unheard of did not seem to her an astonishing thing; and the necessity for distraction and her appreciation of winter beauty left to us a lively description of the Lake Shore Road. In her unconventional drive in January she chose a coachman to her own liking; but no individual preparation could improve the road, even in its soft covering of snow.

Simcoe's spirit continued to work; and following him Mrs. Jameson showed the long sight of a statesman. *Inter alia* she says that a wide space between the building lots and Lake Ontario has been reserved very properly as a road or esplanade, but that even this will not be wide enough; and she sees into the future's needs. In 1893 the acreage of the Lake Shore was added to the city; and by 1909 the project of a sea wall was taking definite form in the minds of the hundreds who once a week made use of the inadequate boards as a promenade. In the playgrounds movement no one was seized of the value of the Humber Beach until *The Globe* suggested that an improved and protected beach was worth a score of baths and playgrounds. At last the corner-stone of the wall was laid, in November, 1909, by a man who had well and truly laid his project many years before, and the critics who derided Ward's Wall and the shores as they would be treated by the Harbour Commissioners will soon have their memory covered by the "dry earth that may be deposited here." A questioning article in an evening paper asked for a complete and comprehensive sea-wall plan that could stand criticism, and for a statement that should not be a chaos of generalities. The hastily-asked questions were receiving their answers in facts; and the men whose prevision was doing so much in the mapping out of a greater Toronto had the force to hasten slowly. The Harbour Board map, backed by the action of Council and Government, is an answer for all time, and is part of the memorial to the first road-builder.

While Mrs. Jameson was foretelling the need of a wall she was also sketching the weak parapet at the mouth of the Humber. That bridge was evidently considered near the end of its usefulness. Dated at Toronto, October 10, 1837, a notice appears that "Application will be made to the Legislature at its next session for a grant of money for the purpose of erecting a bridge across the Humber from Miller's Mills to Haines' Hill; also for building a pier at the mouth of the same River and altering the existing bridge." Apart from the shifting caused by the waters

and the redistribution of varied attempts at bridges, there was little change apparent at the shore, and the Rankin map of March, 1841, shows the Lake Road approaching and leaving the river mouth on its accustomed curves, continued across the first line from Toronto Bay until it joins the Kingston Road.

A true settler regarded a tree as his natural enemy, as something to be annihilated; and the surrounding forest that Mrs. Jameson had at first considered so gloomy is presently looked upon as something to be dealt with in wisdom. Trees that the Druids would have cherished are summarily disposed of by the settler. But the roadways were more slowly considered; and in her favourite path westward, "Dundas Street was very rough for a carriage, but a most delightful ride. You are almost immediately in a pine forest, which extends with little interruption for about fifty miles to Hamilton."

Three years later, the roads were still slight and few, so slight that an officer on his way from the Detroit River to Quebec could find none to dignify by the name. To him the three principal clearings through the forest were Dundas Street, King Street, and Yonge Street; but he was struck with the appearance of the broad esplanade, from which the piers branched off.

In another two years came N. P. Willis, illustrating his book with a map of things in Ontario in 1842 that he deemed most important. One of his seven tracings is the Lake Shore Road, from Newark (Niagara) to Kingston, and thence on to Montreal. Before his time, a contributor to an Edinburgh journal says that the roads of Upper Canada, except when turning the head of a lake or the bend of a river, are uniformly straight lines, and by legal allowance of twenty-two yards width; that their actual travelling state varied with the nature of the soil and the seasons of the year; that where clay prevailed, and during the autumn and breaking up of spring, they were really execrable; but, like a fair-minded Scot, "the remaining nine months afford on the old lines of road very fair

travelling. I have frequently ridden fifty miles for two days consecutively on the same horse, without the animal suffering the least distress or refusing food."

The extraordinary rise of the Great Lakes in 1853 was an important consideration in the boundaries of properties, in navigation, and in the upkeep of roads and bridges. Before that date, the disappearance of several beach roads had been traced. The Lake Shore had in parts been washed away, the Old Road of 1853 having had another just below it, as late as 1846, a little west of the Humber. The shore is flat at the place alluded to by the old resident who writes one description, and he considered that the destruction of the first and second roads might be attributed to the effects of south-easterly winds upon a high level of the waters. The safety of the plank road, called the New Road in 1853, was feared in storms from the south-east. At that date the annual march of the waters inland was reckoned a curious item in the physical history of the Great Lakes, an average of one yard each year being a moderate allowance.

The important railway bridge had an admiring article written on it by a Chief Engineer of another railway, in 1855. "The first illustration of [the substantial] standard of any moment is to be found in the Humber Viaduct, eight and one-half miles from Toronto, over the river and valley of that name. At the point of crossing, this valley, extremely picturesque in character, is 1,500 feet wide, between bold and precipitous banks, giving an elevation of 68'0 to grade line above the stream. . . It would be difficult to imagine a more simple or satisfactory system of construction than this. . . Much as one is gratified on a first view of the Humber Viaduct, on seeing that at the Credit one is tempted to regret the necessity existing there [Humber] for the use of brick."

The Engineer J. C. Howard called the attention of Council to the unsafe condition of the first Great Western crossing, and in 1872 we infer that the inhabitants considered all the bridges but temporary constructions. In that year Francis Bâby and others petitioned for a draw-bridge



HUMBER BAY AND MRS. JAMESON IN JANUARY, 1837.

From a coloured pencil-sketch by Mrs. Jameson in the possession of Professor Watson Bain.

at the mouth, praying that the piles of previous bridges be withdrawn from the bed. To this the Council replied, "Declined. River not considered navigable." Ten years later both railway and general traffic bridges were abandoned, improved ones took their place until 1888, and after that year the railway began a series which culminated in 1913 in a steel bridge of two spans, four tracks, and the centre pier that played so large a part in the forebodings of owners of low-lying lands. The general traffic bridge of steel and timber was succeeded twelve years ago by the present span, and Brulé's Point now echoes to the roar of passing trains, the hum of motors, and the jolly sounds of youth on pleasure bent. It is a far cry from the careless citizenship in the bridge building of 1829 to the stone abutments of to-day. The way of a freshet has long been tested, and when the centre pier was suggested by the railway, resisted by the people, referred to the Railway Board and at last decided upon, damage all the way up stream was confidently expected. Owners with riparian rights strove without ceasing, Members of Parliament questioned, the railway work lay idle, writs were filed, onlookers gave much advice, and historians of the Lake Shore were pained. But the inevitable compromise succeeded. Wordsworth's struggling rill crossed ever and anon by plank and arch now empties as a useful stream into the Lake, despite the dreaded centre pier; and the clear waters must pursue their race as best they may.

The last word in the Mississauga trail will some day be a paved highway to the Head of the Lake, a Canadian Promenade des Anglais.

As the earliest of our local trails, the Lake Shore's branches are interwoven with Dundas Street; and part of its history embraces that of its spurs and parallels. The French Fort in its short life up to 1759, and the English who preceded Colonel Simcoe, had alike been served by Indian Express, by shore or inland; and in April, 1793, the Governor writes to Major-General Clarke, at Quebec, that he hopes by the autumn of that year to open a safe and expeditious communication to La Tranche (the

Thames), a communication that would connect the arsenal at Toronto with the Thames and Detroit. He had got his knowledge in February and March, when he made, partly on foot and partly by sleigh, his famous exploratory tour through the woods from Niagara to Detroit and back.

Although N. P. Willis illustrates his book with a map that shows a lake shore road, the track beginning by Montreal is actually Dundas Street as intended in its east end. In the 'sixties there are records of the York Roads commonly so called, and individually known as the Yonge Street Road, the Lake Shore Road, Dundas Street Road, and the Kingston Road. The last-named takes us back almost to the place of beginning. Mapped eastward in the Simcoe plans, Dundas Street brings into history the name of Asa Danforth, a practical man who arose at the right moment. He contracted to open a road from Kingston to Ancaster, "which road he completed," and in 1799 his Danforth Road was finished from York to Hope township, a distance of sixty miles. The *Gazette* of December, 1799, says of Dundas Street east to the Bay of Quinté, contracted for and finished by him, that sleighs, waggons, etc., may travel it with safety for sixty miles. But it was not until 1817, over the packed snow of January, that the first stage plied between Kingston and York. In 1832 the Journals of the House of Assembly contain a reference to the proposed improvement of Dundas Street east of Toronto; and again in 1836 a petition of one hundred and seventy persons from the Home District prays that Dundas Street east of Toronto may be improved and not the road commonly called Cornell's Road.

Westward, the street was cut out and improved by the Governor's men, the Rangers. It leaves Queen Street by a sharp angle to the north, its name given on maps long before Queen Street was of any importance either in fact or in name. One year after Asa Danforth's work on Dundas Street in the east, the fate of Queen, then Lot, trembled in the balance; the opening of the main roads made the powers regard Lot, short and leading west, as

unnecessary, and it was proposed to close it. Many years elapsed before the Military Road was made passable for general traffic, and in 1808 it had not been begun through the woods to the Credit, either by Statute Labour or by tender. In August the *Gazette and Oracle* advertises for tenders "also to bridge and causeway (in aid to Statute Labour) such other parts of such road passing through the Home District, when such works are necessary, and for the performance of which the said Statute Labour is not sufficient."

In the cutting through of Dundas Street from the Garrison Common to the King's Mills, the troubles of 1812 played a large part. The story of it is that Denison, of the York Volunteers, did the work with sixty men, the road being necessary to enable communication between York and the Mills to be carried on without interruption from the hostile fleet on the lake. The first method of opening a roadway, by regulars under an officer of Royal Engineers, was to fell each tree close to the ground and smooth the stump by adze. It was a slow process, and the result was bad. The G. T. Denison of that day offered to set some of his men to eradicate the trees bodily, an offer that was at first received with doubt; but he persisted, and a broad track was soon ready for the day of plank or macadam.

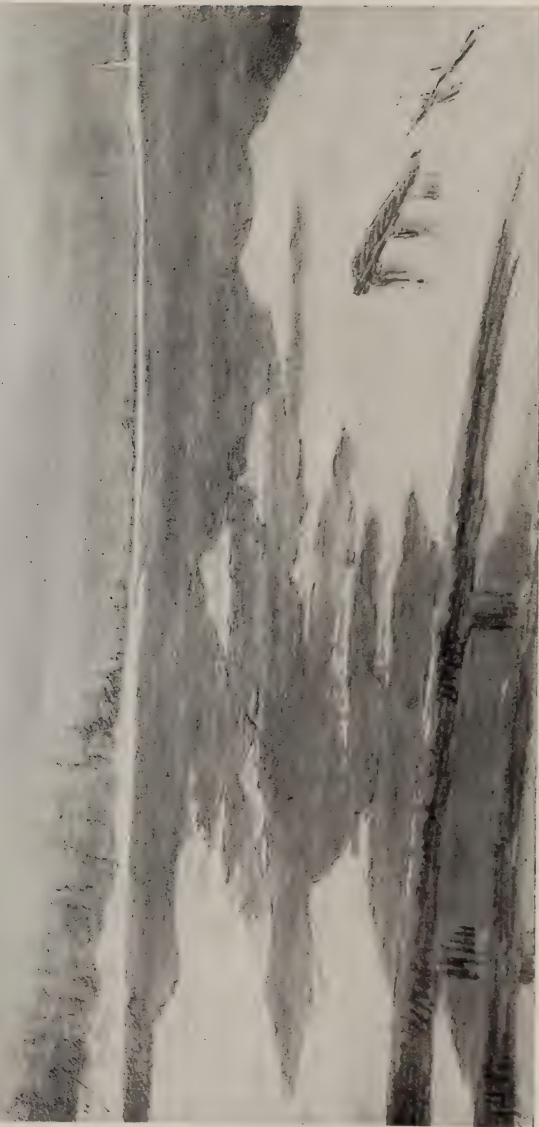
A plan of Etobicoke in 1811 marks a road to York opened by Government, and in Concessions 2 and 3 appears "the Rangers' old improvement." In the fourth concession, northerly, is "Old Road to York," and the north of the plan is marked "New Improvements." The Rangers' Old Road thus indicated is a portion of Dundas Street.

The maps given in illustration of this sketch elucidate a succession of roads that without them seems a tangle, read of in the early wording. One of the earliest of D. W. Smith's is the subject of a paper read before the York Pioneer Society in 1893, describing "the route marked out leading obliquely in a northwesterly direction from the road to Castle Frank, and this road is curiously marked

‘New Road to Niagara.’ This evidently shows that a track had been opened towards the head of Parliament Street, as we should now say, to Yonge Street, where the Davenport Road enters that street from the west. This Davenport Road was the new road to Niagara, running along the foot of the Davenport rise of land as far as the village of Carlton, where it crosses the road leading to Weston and passes on over the Humber Plains directly to the bridge on Dundas Street. It is called the New Road in contradistinction to the old route to and from Niagara by the lake shore, still travelled and popularly known as the Lake Shore Road, crossing the Humber at its mouth.”

In 1830 a gatherer of statistics gets home to York from Hamilton by the Dundas Street Road, where he found clayey and tenacious soil, the grain not so fine as in the Yonge Street district, but the grass excellent; the soil is the kind that in the spring, when the frost is going out, mellows almost to decomposition and is easily worn away by surface water. The delights of his journey are summed up in one sentence,—that he saw gullies from fifty to sixty feet deep, worn away by the long-continued action of the streams, and unsafe to go down in carriages. An emigrant of the same period wrote the inevitable reminiscences and took comfort from his family legend,—*Deliberate, Decide, Dare*. It is of this Dundas Street that Joseph Bouchette writes in 1832, as the road by which the mail passes between York and Dundas. Those mail coaches were washed apparently but once in their lives; they were little better at a later date, but the horses were usually good ones. For years the Canadian coaches were used as the subject of many pages, when ill seasons of road were varied by blessed oases of plank. One truthful Scot writes that “the best thoroughfares of all are the plank roads, which I had never heard of till I reached Canada.” Another says that a corduroy road should have been included by Dante as the proper highway to Pandemonium, for none can be more decidedly infernal. Stages had been in commission between York and Niagara since

Mouth of the Humbly - Lake Between & Head of the River



1837.

WHILE MRS. JAMESON WAS FORETELLING THE NEED OF A WALL, SHE WAS ALSO SKETCHING THE
WEAK PARAPET AT THE MOUTH OF THE HUMBER.

From a coloured pencil-sketch in the possession
of Professor Watson Bain.

1816, but at the end of thirty years from then their reputation has suffered no land-change. In 1827 DeRoos writes that all the vehicular conveyances are without springs, and the mail coach in Mrs. Jameson's time was like its successor and its predecessor. "The heavy wooden edifice resembled an old-fashioned lord-mayor's coach," in winter on runners about a foot above the snow, the whole painted bright red, and with icicles hanging from the roof.

In the long-drawn-out process of improvement, the Bill of 1832 provided little aid; it was designed for the three roads in the vicinity of York, and of Dundas Street from Yonge Street it covered only two miles westward.

The "mighty heavy clumsy inconveniency," hung on leather bands and looking as if an elephant alone could stir it, eventually moved with fewer plunges, and travelers began to extol the results of that "admirable measure designated the Statute Labour Act." The expenditure for Toronto and the County of York up to 1849 was £157,664, on roads made by the public; and two years later, travelers of a cheerful disposition tell us that the main roads running through almost the entire length of Western Canada are substantially macadamized or planked, and that many of the chief branch roads have received the same attention. These branch roads had existed since the beginning of the settlement; and a quaint writer in illustration of the equally quaint maps of his time, says in 1814 that "two miles from York, on the road which leads to Simcoe, called Younge's Street, another road leads out, extending to the head of the lake, called Dundas Street, which is completely straight for 260 miles to the River Thames, near Detroit. . . . Where it is not opened, there are other roads near by, which lead the same way."

A captain of commerce has trod in the steps of the Rangers' Colonel. A portion of what was begun as a military road and a road to Cooper's Mills has been completed by a prince of trade; and to-day the bed of the Islington road, the continuation of the old street beyond

Cooper's, is a permanent one of the first quality. Of Simcoe and his wisdom, Dr. Scadding could not forbear to quote,

“Thorough mooris, hills and valleys
He madé brigs and causeways,
Highe street for common passage,
Brigs over water did he stage.”

The memory of the great road-builder will ever be green, and a Canadian poet of to-day pays him tribute, in that “the achievements of peace are saner than those of war, and no statesman bases his monument upon a deeper foundation than when, by his enactments, he consults and ensures the welfare of his people.”

VIII.

OF MILLSEATS, MILLS AND MILLERS.

It is an easy transition from the picnics of La Salle on the Humber,—La Salle, the first shipbuilder of Upper Canada, with his bark of ten tons coasting by the Humber—to the King's Mill and the shipbuilding encouraged by Simcoe, the fatherly Governor. Fifty years before, "a good englishman" had written of being not without hopes that these great lakes would one day become accustomed to English navigation; and he forecasts Rowland Burr's Humber canal, its necessity proved by the different portages by bark canoes at the barrier of Niagara, and by waggons at the strait that is unnavigable by the Saute of Sainte Marie, into Huron or Quatoghie Lake.

Before York were Nassau and Dublin; but all designations or allocations were made null by the appointment of the new Governor, who dealt on the basis of York alone. At a meeting of the Land Board for the District in 1792, applications were read from certain persons on the north shore, one of which specified a millseat. The decision was, that "by reference to their instructions, find they are restrained from granting Mill Seats, and are of opinion that the creeks falling into that part are valuable for fishing, etc.; and therefore direct that they shall not become private property, whereby the natural advantage might be destroyed." And then, in 1793, we first got into the hands of the experts, whose pioneer was William Kitchin, an investigator who received £7.4.0 by order of His Excellency for services at Toronto, examining millseats.

During the season, life at the King's Mill was stirring. Boards from it were used in the first Governmental buildings in York, and probably at the Government House at the Credit, a house built by the Governor's orders for the entertainment of all respectable wayfarers. In Lord Dor-

chester's scheme of outlay surveyors were constantly harried as to economy, and were sent minute directions as to the spending of money, "that they pay very strict attention to œconomy in the whole service." But the King's Mill Reserve was the subject of many surveys, and from that of Augustus Jones down to 1834 the notes are interesting. In the latter year William Hawkins left Toronto in July, walked down the banks of the Humber as far as Mr. Fisher's sawmill, had a conversation with Mr. Fisher regarding his land on the reserve, and assisted by Messrs. Fisher and Cooper he traced the northern limit of the reserve, having crossed the broken front fronting the river. At the river he discovered a maple tree squared on four sides, which, in the opinion of those assisting him, was the termination of the reserve at that part of the river. Also he chained along the west side of the reserve on the concession line, in all ten lots. In August he finished his calculations and handed them in; whereupon it was recommended that he should return and produce the road between Mr. Gamble's land and the reserve (lots 1 and 2) until it would pass through No. G. in the reserve. He went back to survey the required road, and the sections of maps used in illustration show the sequence from the month just described back to the surveys made under Simcoe.

Closely associated with the earliest days of this earliest mill is the name of Dennis, the original Dennis of U.E.L. trials having been recompensed by a grant on the Humber. We have the name in 1792, and the Humber Dennis, who was a practical shipbuilder, built the Toronto Yacht in 1799—afterwards one of the many wrecks.

In August, 1796, the Honourable Peter Russell writes from Niagara to D. W. Smith that "Mr. John Dennis having made it appear to me by the evidence of Abraham Devins that Mr. Willson knew of his application to His Excellency for Lot No. 5 on the Humber and the conditional promise made to him to keep it open for him for one year, I feel myself interested for him and wish to compensate his disappointment. Therefore, as Mr. Dennis is desirous of having No. 11 (which is a reserved lot) in

lieu of the number he has lost, I request you will assign No. 11 to him and remove the Reserve from thence to some contiguous number. Both which will, of course, be confirmed by the Council at their first meeting. Mr. Dennis being likewise desirous of having about twenty acres of land where Mr. St. John lived on the Humber, I am much inclined to comply with his request, either by Grant or Lease, if it may not interfere with any previous promise to Mr. St. John, and you know of no objection to the contrary." In October, the twenty acres are described as near Mr. St. John's old house on the Humber; and three years later Mr. J. Small writes from the Council Office to D. W. Smith, asking to be told the quantity of acres in lot No. 34, first concession of York, formerly appropriated to J. B. Rousseau. Smith endorses his answer on the letter,— "No. 34 = 160 acres."

The importation of flour gave way to the importation of wheat to be ground at home, until presently native wheat, and corn in general, supplied the mills. Grist mills received attention at the earliest moment possible; for at Niagara in 1792 the first Provincial Parliament regulated the toll to be taken at mills, "not more than one-twelfth for grinding and bolting." Originally the assessment laws set a statutory valuation on all assessable property, and the work of an assessor was mere enumeration. But by 1793 a species of sliding scale was provided; and by the time tenders for millseats came to be made, the proposers were almost sure of their ground.

The year 1794 brought the first land boom. The quantity of good timber and the demand for boards made the owners of saw-mills find their investment a good one; stones were scarce, bricks were beginning to be used, but carpenters and masons were few. The industries fostered by Simcoe included the two gunboats spoken of in Liancourt's Journal in 1795; and in the same year, Liancourt draws attention to the difficulty in building any portion of a fleet with fresh-cut timber. At the best, such timber could last only from six to eight years, and the timbers of the *Mississaga*, then three years old, were already almost rotten.

After the recall of the Governor a different spirit entered into Governmental ownership, and soon the King's Saw Mill was considered useless for the new conditions. Proposals were asked for; and of the few referred for consideration, that from John Willson was the only one to receive definite support.

His application in the autumn of 1797 is followed by a Report from the Superintendent of Sawmill Accounts.

His letter, without date, addressed to the Honourable John McGill, is endorsed, "9th Nov., 1797. Mr. John Willson, proffering to purchase the Government Sawmill, if the same is to be disposed of."

Willson states that the sawmills are much out of repair, and have been ever since his occupation, "although my obligation in lease obliges me to keep them in the same repair I received them in, but finding with much more Expense that there might be improvements made so that they might make more speedy performance therefore wishes to observe to your Honour, that if it would be the wish of government to dispose of them on reasonable terms, it would be my wish to purchase them and would be under the same obligations as I am at present, that is to say I will let government have the refusal of all Lumber cut or such part as they shall wish and likewise to fulfill all Bills of Lumber whatever to me Delivered with all expedition. From your Very Humble Servant, John Willson."

"Government Sawmill, annual income for four years ending the 31st December, 1797" (endorsed on the document).

"Annual Income arising from the Government Sawmill on the Humber, commencing May, 1794, and ending 31st December, 1797:

Period.	Year.	Government Share.	Annual Income.			Total.
May to Dec. 31.....	1794	One-half	77	8	9½	
Jan. 31, Oct. 26.....	1795	One-fourth	52	10	9	
1795, Oct. 27, Dec. 31..	1796	One-fourth	42	16	4	
Jan., Dec. 31.....	1796	One-fourth	49	13	10¾	£229 9 9½



EXTRACT FROM A COPY IN THE DOMINION ARCHIVES OF A D. W. SMYTH
 MAP PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK IN 1813. ITS CHIEF INTEREST
 HERE IS IN THE TRACING OF DUNDAS STREET.

"Lumber of various descriptions has been received and expended within the abovementioned period, for Public services at York, equal in value to the different sums specified. No estimate can be made of this year's Income untill the season for sawing is at an end. Had the Sawmill been in the occupation of an Industrious Person, I am confident that Double the Quantity of Lumber might have annually been Cut, with the utmost facility.

"York, 23rd October, 1798.

"JOHN MCGILL,

"Superintendent, Sawmill Accounts.

"The Honorable the Executive Council,

"Upper Canada."

Thomas Davis in March, 1798, makes a humble offer and hopes that it will be received, as he was arranging his business with a view to remove there; and after his date the Willson correspondence is renewed.

William Bates writes from Queenston, July 22, 1798:

"Sir, I have with difficulty at last settled my business, and disposed of my Horse, I shall set out tomorrow for Home. I hope to return to this Province some time in October; it will of course be late to make any repairs to the House. Be so kind as to send some bricks and lime that Willson may rope out the chimney. I have spoke to Willson in regard to staying until my return. I received a letter last week from my Brother which confirms me in the certainty of my great misfortune; as I depend on moving into the Government House I hope your Honor will not forget me."

The above is endorsed,

"Received 27th September, 1798 (a true copy).

"JOHN MCGILL."

A letter, marked duplicate, addressed to His Honor the President, from John McGill, is dated 26th August, 1798:

"Sir, I have the honor to state for your Honor's information that I am informed Corporal Willson intends removing to his lands, and unless Mr. Bates returns with his family from the States this Fall to inhabit the Govern-

ment House at the Head of the Lake, it will be left without anyone to take care of it.

"The Lease of the King's Sawmill on the Humber now in the occupation of Mr. Willson will expire on the 31st December next—as both are reserves of the Crown, the Leases must of course come through the same channel as those of the Crown reserves."

The endorsement on this letter, signed by Peter Russell, says,

"Sawmills &c. The subject of this letter recommended most thoroughly to the consideration of the Executive Council, and the President requests that they may at the same time take into their deliberations the propriety of leasing the Scite for a Grist Mill at the Humber to the same person who shall take the saw mill."

A second endorsement reads,

"Nov. 9th, 1798. Recomd. that an advertisement be inserted in the Gazette calling on the public for proposals to be delivered into this office for a lease of the two mill seats including the buildings now standing thereon for a term of 21 yrs. at a corn rent. The advertisement to be submitted to this Board before it is inserted in the Gazette."

The third endorsement is,

"Confirmed in Council. The Grist mill to pay in flour and the Saw mill in Boards, or the current value in each.
"P. R."

Archibald Thomson and William Forfar sent in an offer in December, 1798, which is endorsed merely "Proposals." They make offer with suitable bonds for the reserved land and Government Mills, on terms very good for themselves, condemning the existing Log Hutt of a dwelling-house and the risque to the enfeebled frame from spring floods. They would have to build a comfortable dwelling-house at once, and rebuild the mill within two or three years.

Isaiah Skinner makes a proposal in 1799 for the King's Saw Mill and site of the grist mill on the Humber, "offering to build a new saw and grist mill with two run of stones at his own expences, which will not cost a sum less than from 1,500 to £2,000 NYC," the Government to furnish him with millstones and irons and nails, "and a set



"THAT VOICE OF UNPRETENDING HARMONY."

of Good Saws with the Irons now belonging to the saw mill." He engages to leave the whole in good repair at the end of twenty years. He asks the free use of the Crown timber and the usual quantity of meadow, for all of which he offers a rental of two thousand dollars, a sum that he deems ample when added to his outlay for building. He condemns the dwelling-house on the premises, and in a postscript to his Proposal says he would build a good and comfortable house at his own expense, the whole to be erected within the space of two years.

An offer of December, 1798, in a flourish of handwriting and noble terms, is withdrawn in equally fine language in the following January, as the writer cannot compete in any way with the Proposal sent in by Skinner.

Plenty of water and scarcity of labour made this style of mill multiply rapidly. A "Letter" published in London in 1795 describes an Englishman's surprise at seeing a saw-mill with a water-wheel when he came upon it at the Falls of Niagara, called also Mr. Birch's, "where he first saw that very useful piece of machinery, a saw mill worked by water. In such a country, the advantage of a machine that saves so much bodily labour is inestimable."

When Major Holland mapped the river which bears his name, he reached it by the general path, viz., the Humber, the third of the tracks used by the Iroquois from the south in their raids on the Huron region. Holland was an officer under Wolfe at Quebec, who settled in the country after the War of the Revolution and became Surveyor-General of Lower Canada. That office was afterwards filled by his nephew, Joseph Bouchette, and the maps of both men appear in any study of the Humber. Such map-makers were closely followed by Rowland Burr, a Pennsylvanian who came here in 1803, and a man of engineering foresight in advance of his times. He not only advocated a canal between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario via Lake Simcoe and the valley of the Humber, in the spirit of the "good englishman" of 1751, but at his own expense he caused the route to be minutely examined, and published a report on it. Four years earlier the expectation had

been that the Rouge and not either the Humber or the Don would one day be connected with the Holland by canal. Rowland Burr's acumen and his several mill buildings, bring his name into constant connection with the times and buildings of Fisher and Gamble.

The next mills were of enough importance to cause the inscription "road to Cooper's Mills." Thomas Cooper, an Englishman, built his mill on the east side of the stream a few feet north of Dundas Street, in 1801. Like other owners in early times, he changed his mind, and the property was sold to another Cooper; and the mills on the south side of the "Street," themselves important enough in their day to have been given a place on a map, are a continuation of the old-time Cooper's Mills. Some decayed timbers, bare remnants, to be seen close to the Howland and Elliott stores, are all that is left of the first things of Lambton.

The King's Mill Reserve had a sleepy life between the War of 1812 and the building of Fisher's Milton House in 1834. The man, Thomas Fisher, is an interesting figure as settler and miller. He began life as the junior member of a cotton firm in Leeds, and his keen mind suggested a visit of investigation to their branch house in New York. The senior partners resented the impertinence of youth, but he came, nevertheless, with the determination that he retained in his Canadian life. He investigated the New York branch, found his fears justified, returned to Leeds and made his report, was scoffed at by his seniors, in indignation withdrew his money and retired, went to New York and intended to settle there. But his Yorkshire blood could not stand the anti-British feeling of those days. He heard of a Canadian county, York, came to the country, found a little York, and, after a short stay elsewhere, settled hard by. His wife, a Sykes of Yorkshire, proved her share of the Yorkshire spirit in the journey up the St. Lawrence by bateau, when with her two young children she followed Thomas Fisher.

Some of Bouchette's broad and beautiful meadows of the township of York were in the King's Mill Reserve,

little changed when Fisher built the Milton House and his first saw-mill on the river. But he sold his property, and "Fisher's" moved farther up the stream. There, at Millwood, his first mill shared the usual fate by fire; but its successor was of solid stone that reached to the third storey, where it was met by heavy hewn timber. Brick was abhorrent to the miller, and the red remains of the woollen mill that succeeded his grist mill are a blot in the picture made by his grey ruins, the fallen willow, and the sunk path of the old head race. To serve his large property Fisher had his private road, and Fisher Lane keeps up his memory. Some of his shrubs, too, are there; and the hickory trees on Fisher Flats are of his planting.

Upper Canada's first Gazetteer, compiled when its scope was limited, says that "on the Humber are excellent mills," and by 1827 there are estimates of cost that differ materially from those of Skinner and John Willson. In lists designed for the help and direction of intending emigrants, it appears that grist and saw-mills "cost from £180 to £600 in erecting," according to the expense in making the dam and the manner in which the mill is finished. "A single saw, with plenty of water, will cut from 800 to 2,000 feet per day, according to the waterpower and kind of wood, which sells at the mills at from 20s. to 35s. per 1,000 feet superficial measure."

But the winter of the publication of that list was open and dry, mills could not grind for lack of water, and a cold, wet spring followed. In the early proposition to connect the Humber and the Holland in the Simcoe-Ontario canal route, Lake Simcoe would have been lowered two, or even three, feet, thus draining the land of the upper country and giving more water to the Humber.

By 1831 prices had again changed. In that decade travellers were fond of collecting reports on specific subjects, to be compiled into Emigrants' Guides, and in one is a letter from the Mr. W. R. Wadsworth of that time. In October, 1831, he says that the value of land in his neighbourhood is high, from its vicinity to York; that the cost of building a mill depends upon what sort of a mill

you build; that a common grist mill, with one run of stones, would cost about £200 to £250; a good merchant's mill could not be built for less than £800 to £1,000; that their value greatly depends on their situation for supply of water and their distance from market. A saw-mill upon the then simple mode of building could be erected for £100, "and would readily lease for the same sum per annum." The machinery was simple, but there were few streams with a sufficiency of water to carry one; "and to earn its rent a saw-mill must work the season through."

With Fisher's sale to William Gamble began the Milton Settlement, a beautiful hamlet in the eyes of one who remembers its later life. The house, dating from 1834, was followed by all the industries. Rowland Burr's saw-mill on the east side was acquired and converted to another use, and by the middle of the century Gamble's name appears in a directory as "miller, merchant, postmaster, woollen manufacturer, lumber merchant, etc." The etcetera covered oatmeal, nails, bone fertilizer, dry kiln, slaughter house, blacksmith, cooper and waggon shop, inn, and dwellings for his men. The saw-mill, on the east side, was some distance, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet, above the present bridge. A plank road led from the village to the settlement. Before the advent of Fisher and Gamble the American saw-mill dam had been introduced, an ingenious contrivance of round logs notched into each other, in shape the long wedge. The arrangement of tiers, and the outer slope laid at an angle of thirty degrees to the rapid, made it able to withstand many floods. But no original contrivance or succeeding invention saved either Gamble or Fisher from anxiety and loss.

Those were the days of hope and happiness, and of time for delight in the beauty that surrounded the hamlet. One old settler gives an affectionate description of "the Lambton valley—ah, that was called the Garden of Eden; everything was beautiful, and we were all happy. If you had only six hill-of-potatoes and your neighbour had none, you shared. We were all friends, and we all loved the valley."



THE LAND THAT WAS CALLED THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

MacTaggart, the engineer, did much good work in Canada; but bridges and road-making and his achievement at the Falls of the Chaudière did not occupy all his thoughts. His book on Canada contains some conclusions possibly incorrect; but at the same time it gives a clearness of outline and detail on the condition of the country not to be found in many other writers of the period. His description of a settler of eminence as the head of a clachan and the owner of a millseat stands for William Gamble and others of fifteen years later. His pen is light and sometimes contemptuous. "But mills alone by no means complete the finished establishment. A distillery is quite indispensable, so that raw grain whiskey may be produced at a couple of shillings per gallon, the flavour of which is qualified by frosty potatoes and yellow pumpkins. . . . A tannery is also an appendage, while a store may finish the list."

A bonâ fide picture of Milton follows that imaginary sketch.

An English officer who had shared in the Battle of Windsor and in some other chief events of Rebellion times, devotes several pages of his diary to the Humber. From Toronto, in May 1840, he visited two country mansions, one in another direction, and the second belonging to a Mr. Blank, "the proprietor of a large corn mill. This mill is on the right bank of the Humber about three miles from the lake, in a small circular valley bounded partly by abrupt banks and partly by round knolls. At the upper end the highlands approach one another, forming a narrow gorge clothed with the heavy masses of the original forests. The basin of the gorge is completely filled by the river, which issues from it a narrow stream, flowing musically over a stoney channel; but below the mill the water becomes deep and quiet and deviates into two branches to embrace a small wooded island. Close to the water edge is a large mill surrounded by a number of small cottages, over the chimnies of which rose the masts of flour barges; and on the bank above, in the midst of a green lawn bounded by the forest, is the neat, white frame mansion

of Mr. —, commanding a fine view of this pretty spot, and of the large and prosperous establishment of which he is the proprietor. He is a member of the Provincial Parliament, and I believe a bit of a radical. He was very civil to Kerby, who knew his wife, and to myself, giving us a very good dinner and showing us over the mill, which is on a very large scale. About one hundred people, according to the account of the proprietor, derive employment from it. It is supplied with corn for the most part from the United States. It is driven by two large breast wheels, but I forgot to enquire their diameter."

That mill was burned in 1847 and rebuilt, the Old Mill of to-day, in 1848. The remains of its wharf can be found hard by the site of the storehouse, not far below the Old Mill; and the depression near the ruins, shaded and not easy to see, is the cellar of the oatmeal mill.

With the decrease of imports in general of foreign wheat came returns sent in to the Board of Trade, and that from Milton Mills in 1846 shows the wheat westward much shrunk, in some places a total failure, northward good, but the yield light. One-half the potato crop was lost. "Flour is the principal manufacture in this district, and is yearly increasing from wheat grown from the district." Thus Gamble's scow, a feature of note in its day, was an important factor in the settlement. Later there was a wharf at the river mouth, with pier and storehouse, with better facilities for loading or lightering; and the chief work of local import and export was done by the scow. The latter was a source of pride to the dwellers in the Garden of Eden, but its old age was a dishonoured one, swamped in the lower river and its deck carried away for firewood by chance comers. When the time came for the end of life there for the warehouse it still did not leave the Lake Shore, and in a changed form it exists near the Credit as a farm barn. From a short distance below Milton the water was for years navigable for vessels of a draught not named, but "even propellers ascended." Before the adoption by England of free trade in breadstuffs, export trade was large, 84,000

barrels in some seasons, and to that might be added half a million feet of lumber. The old trade in spars had by then dwindled to a very slight one. The survivor of the Garden of Eden tells with pride of his share in turning out 300 barrels in twenty-four hours, and he dwells on the busy life of the river with its great scow and schooners near by, all fed from the small scows that were pike-poled to and from the mill. But drownings occurred even in the Garden of Eden, and the small scows contributed at least two.

In 1840 William Gamble and seventy others petitioned for the incorporation of a company to construct a harbour at the mouth of the river, with little result. It was referred to a Select Committee to be reported on by Bill or otherwise; on January 25th the Humber Bill received its second reading, and the Index states "not proceeded in." Ten years afterwards Gamble built his pier; and the ensuing transactions with the railway did away with the draw-bridge, which for some time had been the only crossing at the mouth. The last refreshment in York and the first in Etobicoke belonged to this bridge, with a hotel at either end. References to Gamble's substantial wharf are frequently come upon, and its usefulness continued after his departure. For several years after 1858-9 it was made use of by the Montreal propellers for a midwinter landing for passengers and freight, and the scene that ensued upon such a decanting was lively in the extreme. The Lake Shore Road then showed an eastward procession of dashing cab-sleighs with prancing horses and jingling bells, their fares muffled in furs, and it is not impossible that there was a frequent upset. Sufficient smuggling was carried on between Brule's Point and the other side of the lake to make night work periodically interesting, and one wonders what portion of the spirit found its way into the Garden of Eden.

In 1854 the 610 grist mills of Upper Canada received a large proportion from the Humber; of the 1,618 saw-mills of the Province, 1,449 were water-wheels. But the great flood of 1850 had carried away nearly every dam

upon the river; at Lambton the water overflowed the road, carried away a portion of the bridge, and as the river was almost twenty feet above the ordinary level, the road was for a time impassable. Robert Stephenson says in his report on the Victoria Bridge that the width of openings is frequently influenced, and sometimes absolutely governed, by peculiarities of site. The form and life of the early bridges over the Humber were absolutely governed by the untamable freshet. Modern dams availed the millers nothing, and the freshet of 1878 that washed out most mills was the deathblow of Fisher's. Fisher leased his mill to Howland in 1844, and Millwood's subsequent changes and conversions, absorption by merger and destruction by fire, led to the purchase of the whole property by one man who resold it to three, the highlands to one purchaser, the house of Millwood to another, and the river lots to the company who fain would preserve the beauty of the land and the memory of the man who first appreciated it. Thomas Fisher has almost a double claim to that recognition. The land on each side of the river from the mouth upwards to the extent of three thousand acres, was the original reserve; and close by the site of the King's Mill and shipyard, Fisher had made his first stand against the freshet.

Leaving Toronto by the road to Cooper's Mills, one passed the Peacock on the way to that excellent mill stream of the early directories, the inn that marked the fork from Dundas Street. Where the river and street cross, the village is halved in the two townships; and as it had the doubtful advantage of two proprietors, it was given two names, Milton on the west, and, later, Lambton on the east. The Humber, in its deep and beautiful valley, showed banks that were studded with mills; and the importance of mill owners' names, and the fact of the post-office being called Etobicoke, united in a peculiar confusion of address. The general store and post-office bearing the name William Gamble over its door seemed far from his Milton settlement, until the reason was sought in Howland's and Fisher's mills. On the Lambton side were the Howland properties, built on the site of the



THE PRESENT ASPECT OF "THE NEAT WHITE FRAME MANSION" OF 1840.

second Cooper mill; and in the days of teaming, most of the wheat came from the west. Hence Gamble's position on the hill, so far west that the farmers might be intercepted before their loads should be seen by rival millers, and sometimes his string of teams headed towards the mill was more than a quarter of a mile in length. Gamble's departure in 1859, and the cessation one by one of the other mills, left the last comer in possession. As Cooper's Mill was the beginning of Howland's, so was the little store on the flats the forerunner of the large establishment with its imposing flight of steps from the street. Settlements follow trails, and distilleries follow settlements; thus the Indian zig-zag still to be seen on the flats and behind the general store was the pathway for Cooper's still and a small gathering of houses before 1850, to be succeeded by the distillery at Howland's mill. Howland's of the Humber, Gamble of Fisher's Mills, Etobicoke, confounded confusion, and an Etobicoke directory of 1837 fed the trouble even before the advent of the Howlands. Letters intended for Lambton Mills were sent to Gamble's at Etobicoke, and letters for the township of Etobicoke wandered far afield.

William P. Howland, afterwards a lieutenant-governor of Ontario and a knight, completed his mill by 1845, and except for the addition of a storehouse the original building is untouched. The three Howlands, singly or in partnership, continued until 1886, when store and mill became Howland and Elliott's, the name that in wheat-teaming days was spoken of as "the Humber."

Not only did post-offices become confused, but the land itself was sometimes in the township of Etobicoke and again in York. Once, on the bank nearly opposite the Old Mill, there was a piece of soil that gave sport to freshets until it was removed entirely, and the ownership is still a disputed point, in conversation if not in law. Streams have provided an unbelievable amount of litigation, and streams plus saw logs were once beloved of attorneys. In 1849 an Act was passed in the Legislature of Old Canada making all streams that could float saw logs in the spring, summer, and autumn freshets, public property,

and by process of temper and time the celebrated McLaren-Caldwell case led to the Rivers and Streams Act of 1881. The pranks of the freshet and the alteration of the current have not yet reached their limit, and in 1913 the Court of Revision had to amend its ratings to suit the sport of the river.

The post-office settled into the store on the Lambton side, and the mills that led to the many names are dwindling out of life. The stone mill, after its gristing days, was used as a foundry, as was the Gamble old woollen mill, now totally extinct, at the south-west end of the Dundas Street bridge. The newer name of Williams is not far from the bridge; the Scarlett Mill, on the east side, a mile above Lambton, was soon removed to the opposite bank for the sake of greater water power, and its successor is supposed to be the tall chimney now seen from the Club verandah; and as the river is followed northward the old name of Dennis is met. For them all, the river's hymn was ancient and modern,—a busy noise by day, a quiet sound in silent nights.

There was an old contention in Canada, that a man should not do two things at a time,—be a farmer and miller, and many other combinations, or have too many irons in the fire. The millers and makers of Lambton refused that rule; and the long survival of the Lambton Mills and the honourable old age of their general stores refute the doctrine.

The bridge mill, from its position, is a link in the long chain from the times of Indian trail, explorer's pathway, pioneer's holdings, route of clergy with saddle bag or by canoe, ox-cart, waggon and stage, down to the hourly cloud of dust from motor-cycle and car.

After Simcoe's time, a great portion of the lands granted to the favourites of successive administrations was practically closed against settlement, a condition that obtained in a lesser degree in the neighbourhood of Lambton. There the land gradually resolved itself into small estates, and some of their names are wisely retained by the Toronto Land Company of to-day.



HOWLAND AND ELLIOTT'S, THE MILL THAT IN WHEAT-TEAMING DAYS WAS SPOKEN OF AS "THE HUMMER."

IX.

FROM SCARLETT PLAINS TO A MODERN CLUB.

WITH inspiration from Government and comparatively easy access to a principal settlement, those early settlers of the Humber Valley, English, Irish and Scottish, knew little if anything of the breaking life of their contemporaries whose lot took them inland to a heart-breaking loneliness. To this day, the stray briars of Lambton tell a tale of English settlers. In the 'thirties, visitors condemned the way in which the pioneers had built each man his house or cottage according to his fancy, and said that it was not a difficult thing in passing through the country to tell the nationality of the builder. Remnants of cottages, roots of briars, gnarly bits of hedges, are all there, and tell us more than the callous historian thought possible.

At first a complement of land was given gratis to each settler, on certain conditions of settlement; but by 1833 all lands were sold on terms of easy payment, except to officers and discharged soldiers, who were continued in the old way. With no date, but in his own handwriting, Sir D. W. Smith, who had been the Honourable D. W. Smyth and a holder of many offices before 1821, leaves a memorandum on taxes in Upper Canada. This district was once called the taxpayers' paradise, but he shows how that might all be changed. Grantees like Scarlett would give him no sympathy. On 5,000 acres he shows arrears, present amount due, and, if not paid within such and such time "the assessment from five years to the eight years is increased to 1½d., and after eight years it is then double,—say 2d. per pound for ever." By 1847 the taxation was so heavy that it was unbelievable there had ever been a taxpayers' paradise. The value of the earth or the quality of the timber was often determined by the viewer's business or bias, and we have Bouchette saying that the land of the

townships near is in a high state of cultivation, so that the market of the town is always well supplied. Twenty years later a visitor declares that the land near Toronto is of moderate quality, weak and sandy, not well adapted to agricultural pursuits; but the subsoil is principally clay, of excellent quality.

Seventy years ago the road to the Humber through the Plains held many dangers. The trees were almost untouched for miles and small game abounded, but so also did bears in the unbroken forest on the south of Dundas Street. The approach led by the primitive dwellings of Colonel Shank, the Honourable Æneas Shaw and Colonel Givins, and after passing the limits of their properties the land was literally a howling wilderness, for wolves were plentiful. But the approach had its charm; for the beaten track, a mere bridle path that branched off from the Peacock, led into oak woods that were beautiful, although the trees were of no great size. The sandy soil, that by 1805 was deemed so good for crops and that a rival of Bouchette in 1832 called extremely barren, sent up a gnarled and contorted growth that was fascinating to the sketcher, but that added to the alarms of the nervous traveller in the dusk. It was the fashion of those times also to deride the powers that be, and Scarlett's oaks, small though they were, were fitted for a certain portion of the defence of their country. Fire touched timber is so hard to the blade that a suggestion was made to season the timber of the forest with fire, and thus the endless groves of oak on the banks of the Lakes might be ignited and the British Navy secured against the Dry Rot.

The birch bush, the oak plains, Humber plains, and the individual terms of the tract from 1791 to the end of the first quarter of the next century, were condensed into Scarlett Plains. The farmers by 1794 raised much pork, and with little expense but some Indian corn for a few weeks before killing. As the Plains became a thoroughfare, 'twas honest folk who crossed them; nor did they grudge a newspaper advertisement. In December, 1803, a notice appeared that "on the 26th ult. the subscriber found

one half of a fat Hog on the Humber Plains, which he supposes to be fraudulently killed, and the half taken away. The part which he found he carried home and dressed, and requests the owner to call, pay expenses, and take it away. John Clark, Humber Mills, Dec. 2, 1803."

Dennis, Scarlett and Foxwell are names that belong to the Plains; and the estates comprised in or adjoining the tract are of enough importance to be mapped from time to time in the progress of the settlement.

John Scarlet, Simcoe Grange, Humber, is the form of Scarlett's address in an almanac, in a list of inhabitant householders. William Stamford, near Peacock, is all that is vouchsafed to a neighbour. John Scarlett, an Englishman, built a Swiss-like structure of hewn logs for his house, with two tiers of balconies on each of its sides, and that, like many first houses, was destroyed by fire. The man was a powerful factor in the settlement, one of the first large employers of labour, well connected and well read, of fine personal appearance, a shrewd observer and a keen horseman. He owned the inevitable sawmill and the almost inevitable distillery. On the west bank of the river, far up beyond the links, was one of these places of combined industries; but the site is indicated only vaguely, unless by those who have searched the early maps. He was a man of affairs, a promoter of a bank, a militia captain and a licensed distiller, and there was a building with a legal name as the Scarlett Distillery. But the illicit was part of the period; and some one, not John Scarlett, had a still in the shrubberies near where the Black Creek enters the Flats on its way to the links.

The race course laid out on the Garrison Common between the old and new forts remained open only a few years, and the chief interest in 1837 was in the Scarlett Course, or, as it was also called, the Simcoe Chase Course. Although owner of the Plains and founder of the Chase Course, Scarlett did not own a race horse and possibly never made a bet; but it is certain that he was a hard rider up to his eightieth year. In the May meeting of 1838, the Mayor heads a list of stewards that includes Major Deni-

son and Major Magrath. The Course lay on the north side of Dundas Street, behind the hotel once called Woolf's, at the top of the hill. The land came into the way of this transitory life, and when the plough preceded the railway, coins and other tokens were turned up, relics of the carelessness of racegoers.

One Scarlett was a man of stern manner abroad, but adored in his home. Withal he was a wag. The broad acres of the Plains had their own roads, and this owner contended that the roads were his also. Cricketers at a match near by saw a funeral procession halt; there was a slight confusion, what appeared to be a transfer took place, and a cricketer called out, "*Boys, he's taking toll!*"

But the end of that funeral journey was one of the beautiful spots on the Humber, a little God's Acre that once nestled each grave under its trees and shrubs. Now its tenants have been placed elsewhere, and it lies bare on the crest of the hill above Black Creek. By 1820 the sweet briar was so much a part of the native growth that it was accepted as indigenous, and strangely enough, written of as a better kind than that of Britain. Why it was superior the writer does not tell us, but that wind-swept graveyard shows that it is tenacious. A few poor bits of broken stone, a few stunted perfumed stems, look over the edge, now cleared of trees, to the spot almost below where the activities of the still once were carried on.

But a stunted growth of gnarled oaks did not supply the whole attraction of these Plains, and dwarf cherry, sassafras and flowering shrubs rose from a ground covered with strawberry and a profusion of flowers. All descriptions of the tract speak of the startling orange lily and the masses of perennial lupine. The gnarled oak had a useful neighbour in the birch. The Admiralty tests of Canadian black birch versus oak proved the former to be of greater specific gravity than English oak, and therefore better fitted for ship's flooring, for which purpose and in kindred ways it began to be extensively used. But almost too late for the Plains, as most of the birch of any kind had by that time gone. There was plenty of pine in the neighbourhood,

and Goldie the naturalist speaks of the pine barrens; but it appears that the chief use the wood was put to was fuel for steam.

About half way between Weston and Dundas Street is the small stream called Black Creek, draining a pleasant valley whose levels make good meadows. It is in the view of the Scarlett burial plot, and it comes in the route of the noble boulevard that will one day take in forty miles of beauty. Furthermore, it comes into the history of industries in the beginning of things; for it is recorded that the owner of its brick clay, a potter of generations, received £100 for making the first draining tile in the Province. On one side, the little resting-place of former Scarletts has at its foot the Black Creek as it enters the valley on its way to join the Humber; and on the other begin the broad meadows of the Flats, "those fair meads where idle shepherds pipe and count the holes." On the Etobicoke side, near the links, is a spring that once upon a time was a brook and full of speckled trout. Standing in the burial ground on the rim of the cup and looking down, or turning one's gaze back across the table-land, the influence of John Scarlett alone is felt. Necessary modern development will not march easily with sentiment, rational or otherwise, and railways have threatened the usefulness and actual life of Scarlett's Road; but the counsel of sentiment prevailed, and John Scarlett's track has been preserved.

The inn where the road forked towards Scarlett's and the Bâby Vale was the well-known Peacock, that "respectable wayside hostelry of the olden time," where a peacock on a background that measured about three by four feet, preened itself as its frame swung in the breeze. It took its name from the owner and landlord, John Peacock, and there are still left to us some settlers who remember the place and the man. From the inn by the usual track, or by naturalists' way by boat, the Bâby estate was reached, a property of double interest. It derives its name from a family of honourable place in Canadian history, and it gives a portion of the scenery that is of great value to the city's park. From the time of James Bâby, a statesman

and a magistrate of the Home District in 1796, the name often appears in the line of Ontario in its making. This piece of table-land was once destined by Government for the new barracks; but its diversion to its present purpose largely helps in the preservation of the Humber. It is, moreover, stored with Indian tradition, of burying-grounds and of meetings that may have supplied the inexplicable Indian Wedding of the sketch. Its banks inspired the first Humber Wordsworth to say,

"In Indian summer's dreamy haze
The Humber's banks we'll oft explore,"

and its riches by land and water more than half filled Mrs. Chamberlin's portfolio. The Ancient and Royal Game provides the end-all of its existence to the lovely plain of Lambton; but in plains, on bluff, or on banks, the land breathes Wordsworth, and the original outlines, as far as may be possible, have been preserved.

X.

CARIOLING.

WHEN good military men die they go to Canada. In the day when that aphorism was coined, a discontented traveller returned to England saying that he could not but wonder why England retained so unprofitable an appendage. A wiser traveller in 1769 had decided *au contraire*, stating that, in a word, by proper application to the single article of agriculture, Canada could be made within the compass of a few years to reimburse to Great Britain all the Blood and Treasure expended on the Conquest of it.

Great Britain's care of the colony in the early years of the nineteenth century required but a modest expenditure in treasure, and happily little in blood; the retention meant the stationing of troops; and in each depot, local society felt itself the gainer. There are some valuable coloured prints of the steeple-chasing, fox-hunting officers stationed in London; but there is no proof that members of the Toronto Tandem Club belonged to the group called the sporting folk in Toronto who used the ice in the bays, harbour and Humber, for fox chasing. The carted deer in Ireland, the bagged fox of the Humber; choose your game. The fox was carried out in a bag, headed west, given a run and given his coup—speak it low, sometimes shot.

Horse racing, card playing, and the like unprofitable and sinful diversions are very seldom performed in Canada, says the godly Moses Smith; but horse racing was not unknown on the ice of Humber Bay. Winter scenes were varied; sleighing, Indians lying on stomach and spearing fish, men sawing blocks of bluish ice from water clear as crystal; the speeding cariole; and later, ice boating.

In December, 1796, Mr. Russell, Governor Simcoe's temporary successor, writes from Niagara that he hopes the ladies are enjoying carioling to the Humber amongst other

places. About the same date the word *slay* began to be used; sledge badly expressed the French *traineau* or *cari-ole*, sled soon belonged solely to the plaything of boys, and *slay*, resolving into *sleigh*, became the recognized term.

On its arrival its derivation was undetermined, and Dr. Scadding suggests that it may have come from a surname, as did Brougham, Buggy and Stanhope. A few years before the date of Mr. Russell's letter, an Englishman making a tour of more or less observation says that the *carioling* of Quebec differs from the *sleighting* of Upper Canada in this, that in the former one horse is used, in the latter two, and that the velocity with which these carriages move is surprising.

The sports of eastern Canada naturally travelled westward, and the dog-slay was often met. An old water-colour sketch shows a Newfoundland dog-slay as a cradle-shaped affair, with two dogs tandem. This dog-slay was an immediate successor of the extraordinary devices in use at the end of the previous century. The *carioles* then were fashioned to imitate birds and beasts, "with the difference that the common people had theirs close upon the ice or snow, while those of their superiors are raised upon what are called runners, which elevate them about two feet. They paint them of many fantastical colours; many of them as a contrast to this season of the year are coloured in imitation of thunder and lightning."

The winter traveller, following still in the example set by the east, was enveloped in clothing,—the usual number of coats and waistcoats, then a double cloak, a large fur cap and a fur tippet, and sometimes even a large muff. Men did not disdain to bury their faces occasionally in their muffs, "for the *cari-ole* was an open carriage and afforded no defence from the cold."

Presently the Upper Canadian sleigh-cutter succeeded the Lower Canadian *cari-ole*, described as a simple but elegant carriage, without wheels, embellished with buffalo skins which hang over the sides, lined with cloth of various dazzling hues. The great emporium of 1804 and after was Quetton St. George's, a general store of the early colonial



FROM A MAP INSCRIBED TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF
HALIFAX AND THE OTHER RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS
COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

kind, where all the necessities for carioling and ox-driving, including slay-whips, were kept. On the days devoted to bargaining and buying and selling, the ox-drawn sleighs going to market in Toronto were "as wildly picturesque as the grape waggons of Italy."

After the sleigh-cutter came simply sleigh, a most popular vehicle in the days of the Tandem Club. The membership of that club was chiefly drawn from the officers of the various detachments stationed in Toronto. Osgoode Hall, then in use as barracks we are told, saw the gay departures and an occasional dilapidated return. A winter club chiefly, the meets were to take place as often as military duties and weather for sleighing allowed. After each, the members dined together, recounting in verse the events of the preceding drive.

The first took place in December, 1839. Their rhyming Transactions hold many allusions too veiled to be understood by this generation; but Etobicoke will for long keep its interest in the names of Major Magrath and James Magrath, contributors in 1840 and 1841. The excursions, east or west, are full of events, and the favourite inns are sometimes houses of refuge.

"Safely we reached a house that's called the Bell,
But here arose a scene of rack and ruin . . .
* * * * *

"The gaudy Peacock next we passed,
At least all did but one—"

The gay dinners celebrating each meet sometimes developed a muse with a broken back or a lame knee, but never with a halting tongue.

The recital in February, 1841, gives a strange picture of a Canadian winter.

"Turned to the right we sought the sylvan shade,
The startled wood nymphs hiding as we passed.

"The envious satyrs strove our path to clog
So that the trot at times became an amble,
They interposed full many a stump and log,
Hoping, sly rogues, to profit in the scramble,
If haply either we upset or smashed. . . .

“Logs, stumps and satyrs, we escaped them all,
Safe through these dangers fearlessly we dashed,
And our sweet burthens brought again to Osgood Hall.”

The grave, grey pile of to-day would blush at those departures and returns. Whips were merry and leaders gay, wheelers kicked over the traces, and a drive intended towards the Don has often finished at the Peacock Inn.

In the heart of the forest, at a corner of vantage on the way between York, the Humber, and the track to Weston, was the famous Peacock. It could have quoted truthfully, rest for man and beast, as its sign. With its extensive outbuildings, it made the most important stopping-place in a large radius; but the encroaching railway ended the long first chapter of its life.

The Tandem Club's drives were not unduly protracted between rescue points. On their way to the Humber came Sanford's and the Blue Bell, before the ancient Peacock. At the turn northwards out of the line of Lot Street, on the east side, was Sanford's, a watering-place for teams and provided accordingly with the colonial pump and trough, the latter a section of a large pine tree hollowed like a dug-out. Not far off was the Blue Bell, with its sign in kind, on top of a lofty pole by the door, swinging to and fro within a frame. The Peacock of Tandem days had begun life in the woods in a humbler form than the present hotel. Although the word inn was frequently applied to it, the sign that swung above the door announced that it was The Old Peacock Tavern. The variations of progress in decay and railway-making demolished the first buildings; but the name has been wisely retained.

To “keep tavern” did not mean in the old days that a man kept a mere drinking-house by the roadside. The tavern was often the place of assembly for Town Meetings, and the tavern-keeper was as often a man of weight and substance. The chief tavern of a neighbourhood was alike the hall of justice and the district club. Moreover, the sign of a tavern as it swung before the hospitable door, sometimes on a tall pole near the trough dug-out, often

expressed the temper of politics and religion of its owners or its frequenters, or even of its country. One worthy of long remembrance swung in Toronto, at The Four Alls. First came the King, who owned all. Next the parson, who prayed for all. Then a soldier, with chest well out, who fought for all. And lastly, the backbone of Canada then as now, the farmer with his plough, who paid all.

XI.

OF INDIANS.

A FOOLISH statement in a modern gazetteer is to the effect that as so little of the history of this county is known, and as that little is so slightly authenticated, all that is essential for us in these days to know on the subject is that no portion of the county was the fixed abode of any civilized human being until about the middle of the eighteenth century, and, that the Indians have left very perceptible traces behind them.

When Joseph Bouchette published his edition of 1832 he said he distinctly remembered the untamed aspect which the country exhibited when first he entered the beautiful basin. It fell to his lot, as he phrases it, to make the first survey of York Harbour in 1793. Dense and trackless forests lined the margin of the lake, reflected on the glassy surface; the wandering savage had there constructed his ephemeral habitation, and the dwellers consisted only of two families of Messassagas. Among the Indians at the east end of the lake were some straggling Messessawgers, who lived near Detroit, and one hundred years earlier the Mississague were one of the people who went annually to Sault Ste. Marie to fish, gradually drifting southward, and apparently aimless. Spell the name as they might, and come upon the bands where they might, all their historians unite in the word straggling. The Mississagas in 1750 were comparatively few in number and scattered along the north side of the Lake, and beyond the Humber as far as Matchedash. They were a branch of the Chippewas or Otchipways, and one history of the county states so unmixedly were they found along the north shore at the time of the Conquest that they were treated by the British authorities as the sole owners of the soil thereabouts, whose rights must be extinguished before the Crown could lawfully take

possession. The specific name Mississaga was employed by the French because the tribes first fallen in with hailed from the neighbourhood of the river of that name, an important stream emptying into Lake Huron. Those who were found encamped on the site of Toronto in 1793 were of the Algonquin race or speech. Heriot calls the Lake Huron Mississagas Estiaghics, and Alexander Henry says "all the Indians inhabiting the north side of Lake Huron are called Mississakies. *Michi* or *Missi* signifies a great many, while *saki* or *saga* conveys the idea of the mouth or outlet of a river," and by degrees the name came simply to mean River Indians.

James Adair of old, for long a trader amongst the tribes south of the Great Lakes, is mightily pleased with his own learning and gives reams of proof that the Indian Americans are lineally descended from the Israelites, either while they were a maritime power or soon after the general captivity, the latter most probable. Historians are often derided, each man by his successor, even if Hennepin, le grand menteur, is now undergoing some process of white-wash; but Lescarbot, "that man of sense and learning," although a little addicted to the marvellous, leans towards the idea of the North Americans being Canaanites. The unfortunate Mississagas were more nearly Ishmaelites, and their sorrows multiplied upon them until the day of Peter Jones and the Methodists.

Strangely enough, the Missisakes of Pouchot's time were considered more dangerous than the Iroquois, because they lived by the chase alone. In 1757 those who were to go down to Montreal assembled to the number of ninety at Toronto. Only ten men made the garrison, although there was a large supply of goods under the trader Varrin. The Indians intended to murder the garrison and pillage the fort. A French servant notified DeNoyelle, the officer in command, of the Indian plans in detail, whereupon a canoe with two men was despatched to Niagara for help. Pouchot, the commandant, replied with two officers and sixty-one men, a swivel gun in each bateau. They reached Toronto at four in the afternoon the next day, and by Pou-

chot's directions the Indians received a salute from artillery and muskets. They were then told to assemble, a crest-fallen gathering, as they had not suspected that their presence or their plot could be known. They confessed freely, and said they had no courage, adding that some one had given them bad news,—that the French troops were coming to kill them, that the French had made peace with their enemies the Flatheads, that the English had overcome the French, and many other disquieting bits of information. The facts were merely that the Indians felt themselves to be in force and desired to get brandy for nothing. Untrustworthy, they had still served the French well in the war, and after this misadventure they departed peaceably for Montreal. Their nation was much chagrined over the event, and disowned the warriors concerned.

Two years later the colonial captain who then commanded at Toronto waited only to hear the cannonade at Niagara. He felt sure that that fort was taken, and “cleared out from his post, which, having set on fire, he left for Montreal, so that they could not catch him. The Fort could only be defended against Indians, and had a garrison of only ten or twelve men.”

The forts at both places had fallen, but the Mississauga town remained. In that August of 1759 at Niagara, Sir William Johnson exhorted the Chippeway Chief Tequaka-reigh, in strong terms designed for the guidance of that untrustworthy Indian. In return the Chief desired that Sir William would send some person to the Mississauga town near where Toronto stood, to hear what he should say to their nation and to see that he would deliver the belts and message honestly. Sir Francis Bond Head felt assured that an Indian's word, when formally pledged, was one of the strongest moral securities on earth; but Pouchot agreed with an opinion given by other observers,—that an Indian seldom really admires or trusts a white man, even George Washington, of whom an American redskin said he was a good-natured man but had no experience.

That the Mississagas were hospitable, La Salle's men had found at the mouth of the Humber, and Major Robert

Rogers found them useful and hospitable all the way along the Lake, in his various camps during his tour of 1760. His description is invariably more pleasing than that of any other writer until we come to the time of Peter Jones and our Indians on the Humber. In September he left "Frontiniac," the first stage of one hundred miles being easy. As the day was very windy, some time was spent in deer hunting, in a section of rocky land covered with hemlock and pine. Westward next day in the chops of a river called Grace of Man by the Indians, he came upon a band of fifty Mississaguas fishing for salmon. At the first appearance of his party they ran down to the edge of the Lake, firing their pieces to express their joy at seeing the English colours. "I told them of the success of their English brethren against their fathers the French, at which they either were, or pretended to be, very well pleased." The next Mississagua river was Life of Man, where thirty Indians were hunting. The first band had given Rogers a deer, and these, equally hospitable, split up a young bear and presented it to him.

At the first dawn of day on September 30th his party embarked, and with sails and oars made a great way on a southwest course, a seventy mile run ending at the River Toronto. There he found the tract of three hundred acres of cleared ground where formerly the French fort had stood, and notes that the soil is principally clay. Deer were extremely plenty. Some Indians, hunting at the mouth of the river, ran into the woods at the approach of his boats, very much frightened. They came back, however, in the morning, expressing joy at his news of the English success, and informing him as to his route to Detroit, a journey to be accomplished easily in eight days. He considered Toronto a most convenient place for a factory, and that from there the north side of Lake Erie could be settled. "We left Toronto on the 1st of October, steering south, right across the west end of Lake Ontario."

Sir William Johnson was an honest man, for in a letter of 1761 he acknowledges that some of his trouble with the

Six Nations was not caused by them, and that he must call a meeting in order to feel their pulse, which was "pritty low, and flatter myself can bring them to any reasonable Terms, at ye same time I am sorry to say their late ill behaviour is occasioned in great measure by our ill treatment of them in severall respects." In June eleven years later he is writing to Colonel Claus to wish him safe to Canada and a pleasant time.

Claus, the Indian Superintendent, shows that traders east and west were all alike. A letter from him in 1772 on the Indians of Two Mountains says that the nations had many objections to traders and rum, "for were it not for the unhappy consequences resulting to them from the Sale of Liquor in their Places destined for hunting, they would not care how many Traders did come there with dry Goods."

A year later he writes from Lachine as to the failure of a party who missed their aim in getting to Matchidas in "Lake Huron last fall, where they were invited to at Toronto," and that he had likewise two Missisagey partys on his neck,—a slangy and slovenly letter, that shows nevertheless he was doing his work.

The name of the wanderers is met in many parts of the country, and as late as 1820 they appear as the Missisagué,—the name spelled sometimes with and sometimes without the accent on the *e*—wanderers on Huron and Superior, or River Indians, numbering two thousand fighting men; in an unnamed map composed between 1784 and 1790 there is a note written on the land north of Lake Huron, "the country of the Missesagues, conquered by the Iroquois, and now united as one Nation." A manuscript map of about 1793 marks the site of the fort by a group of wigwams, inscribed "an Indian village, deserted;" and giving them their local place, definitely, they were the Indians of the place when a map was drawn entitled "A Map of the British Dominions in North America, as settled by the late Treaty of Peace, 1763," on which map the only two indications on the north side are F. Frontenac and F. Toronto.

At last we reach the word stationary, instead of wandering or erratic. The river Credit is a great resort for these and other Indians, and by 1822 the Indian Reserve west of York is described as extending from the lake to the wilderness, between the town and Etobicoke, "and on which some Mississagas are stationary." Liancourt, who visited Upper Canada in 1795 but who knew Toronto only from hearsay, says that in a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles the Indians are the only neighbours of Yorck. His information had not included the log house and orchard near the mouth of the river.

On the 29th of July, 1793, the Governor of the new Province sailed for York in H. M. Schooner *Mississaga*, with a favourable gale, bringing with him the remainder of the Queen's Rangers. The first division had preceded him in bateaux round the head of the lake, and a second in the schooners *Caldwell* and *Onondaga*. With his arrival began certain changes in the local names. We have suffered something in picturesqueness by abandoning so many of the Indian place-names; but a gain has been made nevertheless. The river Credit appeals to the imagination as it is, and we should not be bettered by trying to call it Mazenahkasepa, and the western canton of the Five Nations has been mercifully shortened into Senecas. Humber Indians made many visits to Sault Ste. Marie, and it is often necessary to speak of the Great Turtle near; but, just as mercifully, Meshenemahkenoong, Missilimaquinak, or Machilimackinac, have been reduced into Mackinaw for everyday purposes. Close by the unpronounceable Credit was the River aux Atokas, the mouth of which was once the boundary between the Mississaga lands and the East Riding of the county. Pronounced Ah-doo-pe-kog, and meaning "the place of the black alder," it began life as a French abbreviation. Augustus Jones writes it in one of his letters as Atobicoake, and designates a stream nearer the head of the lake by it. For a long time there was indecision between Tobyco, Tobicoake, Tobycocke, until there were no more variations possible, and it stayed at Etobicoke. Its derivation was simpler than that of the Credit, Cr dit, or Credai,

a name derived from a French trader travelling from Lachine north and west, or again from traders buying peltries on credit.

At the time of the change of name and seat of Government, Toronto contained twelve houses, and it laboured under the various disadvantages of being called York until Sir John Colborne changed it back again to the name that was part of the country and important in history since 1686 and a recognized settlement at the mouth of the Humber afterwards.

The history of the Misisagoes, as we get it from the Surveyor-General's Department in 1783, with the history of the Credit Indians to the number of 240 in 1840, includes in general the history of the Humber Indians. First and last, on both rivers the curse was strong drink. In 1682 Bishop Laval excommunicated the traffickers in brandy, and spasmodic efforts had been made against that branch of a trader's profitable business. Lachine, or China, in trading times was always the point of departure for the upper countries. On leaving, it was the custom at Ste. Anne's to distribute eight gallons of rum to each canoe for consumption during the voyage, "nor was it less the custom to drink the whole on the spot." A bad name was attached to the Mississagas from the time of the Purchase in 1787, effected at the Bay of Quinté for divers good and valuable considerations, a purchase that had included Toronto and its suburbs. But the document of transfer was imperfect, and in August, 1805, at the Credit, the original document was completed by an instrument finally surrendering the Mississaga tract with a clear title. The greater the number of sales and the heavier the distribution of presents, the more difficult was the Indian path. In October, 1818, "the Mississaga tract Home District," consisting of 648,000 acres, went for what was then the respectable sum of £8,500. In February, 1820, 2,000 acres east of the Credit reserve were absorbed by so-called purchase, and by that year the Indians had found out that "the Christians are so much worse than the Indians that they lie and steal and have taught the Indians to be





FROM A CHEWETT MAP OF 1793.



AN EXTRACT FROM AN UNSIGNED MAP MADE FROM SURVEYS
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1784-1790.

drunk;" "they stole from one another to that degree that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it," says an Indian to David Brainerd, the missionary called by his successors The Saintly, and well known to the Ontario missionaries who were caring for the Mississagas.

The diminution of their lands and a struggle for survival reminded them of their ancestors and friends at Niagara, who in 1759 had told Pouchot in Council that the Master of Life at the first gave them the Island of America to inhabit it. They were growing to deserve all the hard things said of them, and from one writer after another the ill character is carried on. Their drunken and profligate life made them supposedly irreclaimable. And they remained so until Peter Jones arose, young, ardent, and of themselves; and lo, the poor Indian was indeed changed beyond recognition. Two hundred and thirty years before, two men had been shot and one flogged for selling brandy to Indians; but the example did not last long, nor did it travel westward later. The French changed their ideas, and by 1676 were advocating the sale, under restrictions. Always, a cargo westward contained brandy, rum and wine; and in St. John's licence the words are part of the printed text.

In desperation the Mississagas petitioned Sir John Colborne in 1829. Their requests were eminently reasonable, and the Assembly complied with them. The Indians struck the piteous note of simple children who have been defrauded, begging redress from a great and omnipotent father:

"Father, your children who now petition you are a remnant of the great nations who owned and inhabited the country in which you now live and make laws; the ground on which you and your children stand covers the bones of our fathers for many generations." They remind the Governor that when his fathers came over the great waters the Indians received them as friends and gave them land to live on. "But the white man made us sick and drunken, and as they increased we grew less and less, till we are now very small." They sold a great deal of land

to their father, the King, for a very little, and now they are becoming poorer and poorer; they reserved the hunting and fishing, but the white man has taken them all. Of the last three places left, two have been taken, and now they have the Credit alone. They reserved one mile on each side, where they now live; the Gospel has come to them, and their evil ways are gone, not to return.

"We now want the fish in our river, that we may keep our children at home to go to school, and not go many miles back to hunt for provisions." They sell their fish to industrious white men who bring them flour and cattle in exchange; but now the wicked white men come and camp for weeks, burn and destroy their fences, and take all the fish; they swear and drink and are a bad example to the young Indians. Others go to the mouth of the river and catch the salmon, and defile the water so that the fish will not pass up and can be taken by seine near the mouth; the Indian is injured, and his children are deprived of bread.

"Father, once all the fish in these rivers and lakes, and the deer in these woods, were ours; but your red children only ask you to cause laws to be made to keep these bad men away from our fishery, and to punish those who attempt to fish. We will not fish on Saturday night, Sunday night, and Sunday, but will let the fish pass up to our white brothers up the river."

With Methodism all the conditions of the Indian changed. In those days they perhaps knew but little of the men from the Quinté Mission, of Sulpitian, Jesuit or Récollet. To-day a hardworking Wesleyan has written that "if our Methodist itinerants were but treading in tracks made by Jesuit pathfinders they had good reason to congratulate themselves on having such predecessors;" and in their life of self-abnegation the native congregations added to the resemblance by calling them black coats and the Master of Life's men, after the manner of the wilder congregations a hundred years before. To have "courage" meant to be a Christian; "you have courage, the Jesuits gave it to you," was an expression used by some Lake Ontario tribes long before the Toronto Indians

admitted to Pouchot that their courage was gone; and by and by the Mississagas were confessing to Peter Jones that they, too, wished to have courage.

A converted Indian and ardent missionary says anent the sale of the Credit lands that these Indians were the first to be converted to Christianity in Upper Canada. Their first redemption came through Peter and John Jones, Peter the well-beloved, a son of the surveyor Augustus Jones and his Indian wife. He made his claim to the tribe on three counts—because of his own Chippeway blood, because he was brought up by the Mississagas, and because he had lived for several years with the Mohawks on the Grand River; and his comparatively early death was the result of the intense devotion of his work. The Indian diction, abounding in metaphor and graceful phrase, is often turned into a paraphrase of Holy Writ, or he apostrophises his hearers, white or red, in impassioned words:

“After the arrival of the big canoe with white wings, carrying strange men white as snow and wise as gods, the red men gradually were pressed back; disease and the musket mowed them down, and fire-water came to gnaw their vitals and spread contentions, disease and death. Where are the aborigines who thronged the shores of the lakes and rivers on which the white man has now reared his dwelling and amassed his wealth? What doleful tale do these bleaching bones tell which the husbandman has ploughed!”

The bones unearthed in the excavation for the first house to be built on the overhanging bank of the Humber might tell part of Peter Jones’ story; but burial grounds were many, and the ground at Bâby’s Point does not necessarily imply a settlement.

Fish, land, furs, all went before the white. “The skins of bears are what our forefathers wore, before the white people came amongst us, as blankets; but now land sharks, called traders, buy them from the Indians for a mere trifle.”

The Humber-Credit circle had its early philosophers. One old man, very tall and very good-natured, was a drunkard, and his wife was his boon companion. The old woman was once found beating her husband soundly, and while the blows fell on his head and back he rocked to and fro, saying, "Thank you, thank you," which so enraged her, when she saw she could not hurt him in flesh or spirit, that she sat down and wept bitterly.

After conversion to the white man's religion and taking white men's names, the Indians rejoiced in the days of the week, and one missionary of renown was John Sunday. All the days are represented in the Humber-Credit district, except, apparently, Wednesday and Saturday.

Change of name came from change of heart, and evil ways and rum, that "devil's spittle," were renounced. Even traders admired the Methodists and sometimes helped them. The father of a Credit missionary went as usual to his trader for supplies, and after getting them asked for whisky. The answer was, "John, do you know that whisky will yet kill you if you do not stop drinking? All the Indians at the Credit have abandoned drinking and are now Methodists." The Mississagas who gathered at the Humber and the Credit for salmon fishing were at first an evil-smelling mass of wigwams, fish bones and rotting deer flesh. After the arrival of the Methodists drunken brawls and shiftlessness were succeeded by tilled fields and enclosures, schools and civilized life.

The childlike Indian told the superior race some unpleasant truths and often hit from the shoulder. One young Mississaga near Belleville became pious and declared that "you white people have the Gospel for many years; you have the Bible, too, and sometimes you read it; but you are very wicked, get drunk and tell lies, and to us Indians it seems very strange that you have missionary so many years and you so many rogues yet." Such truth-tellers on the Credit and the Humber were rewarded in later years when, in 1846, after twenty-two years of devoted labour from the Methodists, the Indians were written of as unintellectual but harmless and inoffensive, and the sale of spirits was prohibited.



“YOUR RED CHILDREN ONLY ASK YOU TO CAUSE LAWS TO BE MADE TO KEEP THESE BAD MEN AWAY FROM OUR FISHERY.”

From a D. W. Smyth (Faden) map, showing the white man's fishery in 1800.

Although the general intercourse between the Credit and the town, and the general history of the Reserve, include the Humber, there are certain incidents that belong to the Humber alone. In the infancy of the oldest members of this generation, or at any rate in the later life of their parents, many Indians, including Mississagas, were to be seen in the streets of Toronto.

Some of those Indians were descendants of the Mississagas who asked the Quinté branches and Father Picquet for a church rather than a canteen at Fort Rouillé. A result from the Récollet mission to the Hurons in 1615 may have filtered down through the Humber trail, but there is no evidence of actual desire until the occasion of Father Picquet's visit. Brulé was one of the congregation at the first mass heard in Ontario, north of the Humber and but a short journey from it; but the influence stopped at that, until the Quinté mission spread its work west, fifty years later. One editor of Lescarbot sifts his evidence until it shows that Cartier did bring priests to Canada, and that although the explorer's refusal to provide baptism is "difficult to explain, it is possible that his priests were down with scurvy, in which case they were in a sense the proto-martyrs of the Canadian Church," an interesting deduction, and perhaps nearer to the Methodists than to the Catholic martyrs, in the death of the former from consumption and modern hardships.

The research that went to the making of "Pioneers of the Cross in Canada" puts into small compass the facts of the first missions at the Humber. The Sulpitian missionaries, Fathers Fénelon and Trouvé, were responsible for the flying churches that gave first service to the north shore, and by 1669 one of the established missions was at the Humber. By the time Picquet's contemporaries had finished their work there was much alteration, at least in external manners; but all was not admiration for the missionaries; for, as Mr. James Adair observes, "the Canadians were highly censurable for debauching the peaceable Northern Indians with their infernal catechism." Those Indians who became accustomed to the society of

English traders showed alteration manifestly for the worse; and perhaps because they had known only French traders, we get the best word for the Humber Indians from Major Robert Rogers.

The Indians of the Toronto Landing and the Humber, with no fixed place of abode, were still dwellers there for long periods or were constant frequenters. We get some of our local customs, possibly week-ending, from them; for the *Presille*, *Presqu'île* or *Presqu'isle* of the old maps was used by the Mississagas as a health resort, a cure for indispositions. Officially they were known as the Credit Indians, and attached to the Credit Reserve. Hence even the family that gave the name to a portion of a map as "Indian Wedding" on the Humber, or the wearer of the skull lifted in 1913 from the first excavation in the Bâby bluff, are to us Credit Indians. From Yonge Street for miles westward they were known as the Credit Indians, irrespective of the boundaries of their temporary grounds.

The appearance of the early Humber Indians was constantly dwelt upon as unattractive, dressing very indifferently, as it was phrased. For a long time their full dress retained the tomahawk, scalping-knife and tobacco pouch, and even a Mississaga full dress was costly. The richer tribes loved display, and the first McKee of Detroit and Sandwich memory, a man of influence sometimes consulted by General Simcoe, describes a Wyandot festival where the Indians changed their dress eight or ten times in the course of a dance in one evening, each dress so loaded with ornaments that it was valued at forty or fifty pounds.

From the day that a Mississaga runner brought Simcoe his despatches, and a schooner called by the tribe's name carried him to Toronto, his association with them became constant in small as well as greater ways. Inland, near the Thames, in the winter of 1793 on his way back from Detroit, Simcoe and his party came upon an old Mississaga hut and made use of its shelter, where their refreshments were salt pork and venison, and there, as elsewhere, the conclusion of the evening was "God Save the King," and then to bed. It is true that he changed

the name of Toronto and made therein one of his few mistakes in the fitness of things; but the change led to an interesting discussion thirty years later. It was a matter of regret that Indian names should be rejected, as they had a natural connection with the places, and the French were given credit for more respect and perception than the English possessed, in that the French, when they did make a change, showed a due regard for natural position. It then appeared that Toronto meant Hut-by-the-Lake, a free translation of the history of the word and attempting a connection with the Iroquois Kanata, a collection of huts, and in Mohawk the banks of a river, making a combination of the Country-on-the Banks-of-the-River.

Simcoe was not to blame for making little use of his own Indian name, Deyonguhokrawen, One-whose-door-is-always-open, given to him in token of their affection and briefly called The Open Door. When Great Tail did the honours of the valley to his Excellency he was but following in the steps of those Mississagas who received Robert Rogers more than thirty years earlier. Major Rogers' journal was perhaps written with a hope of publication, and there are critics who call it disingenuous; but what concerns us is that he depicts the Humber Indians as demonstrative and hospitable.

Following Simcoe, Peter Russell as President befriends the Mississagas. A document signed by him in 1797 states that, whereas many and grievous complaints have of late been made by the Mississaga Indians of depredations committed by His Majesty's subjects upon their fisheries and burial places, in violation of the friendship existing between his Majesty and the Mississaga Indians, as well as in violation of decency and good order, therefore be it known that if any complaint hereafter shall be made of injuries done, and the persons can be ascertained, such persons shall be proceeded against with the utmost severity, and a proper example made.

A few years later the Indians are complaining that the word of their former father, Colonel Butler, had not been

kept, and that the new settlers drove them away like dogs. They had declared their friendship for Simcoe and their belief in Claus, the Superintendent; "but when they were handed over to another person, Mr. Givins," they fared not very well, "because, since we were attached to York we have got very little." Gifts were obligatory, and the first descriptions in English of the conclusion of a peace and treaty-taking gives the presenting of "Collers" and "Beeds" as the finale of the ceremony.

At that time of Collers, the King, the great Lord of Lords who lived over the great lake, was petitioned by the Five Nations, through his Excellency at Albany and Hille the interpretest, to send his red children a Smith to live with them in their country, so that their arms should be repaired for defence against the French. A century, and a century and a half later, the Humber Indians are petitioning, this time with no interpretest, that the smith who was promised to them shall be made to be of some use. Their tomahawks and knives were still carried as a matter of use and wont, and their fish spears provided most of their food. So, while they are thinking that the new person, Mr. Givins, may not do the best for them, the petition goes on to say, "Father, I forgot to tell you that a blacksmith was promised us when we sold the Toronto land, who was to be at the Humber; but you have removed him to York, and he is of no use to us. We know you pay him for doing our work, but he does no good." For a long while there remained on the Garrison Common some low log buildings belonging to the Indian Department. The armourer had his forge there, and the Indians got their spears, axes and knives and their ordinary implements sharpened and put in order; but they desired to have a smith in their midst.

Amongst the earliest Mississagas in the public service are those who appear in Augustus Jones' field notes and accounts of 1792, when two were paid £1 10s. Halifax currency for going as bateau men from Burlington to Toronto. During the next two decades their intercourse with the whites made them earn an occasional few shil-

lings for service in surveying parties, in fishing, or the making of canoes, "those little carriages of convenience and inconvenience, so easily shattered." Then, in the war of 1812, we have an Indian whose death near the mouth of the Humber raised a discussion that was not ended for many a year. Auchinleck gives quotations from the records of the time, including those by the historians of the invaders, concerning the Indian shot in a tree by the Americans and the scalp supposed to have been found hanging over the Speaker's chair in the House. The spot at which the landing by the invaders was intended to be made was close to the site of the French fort; but their boats were carried by a strong breeze and heavy sea considerably westward of the intended point, and the landing was effected half a mile away from the chosen spot. American history represents the place as thickly covered with brushwood and occupied by British and Indian marksmen. In reality it was occupied by Major Givins with about twenty-four Indians and sixty Glengarry Fencibles. The landing is mapped as a little west of half-way between the French fort and the river. The Indian of the story had concealed himself in the branches and fired with deadly effect into the boats, and a scalp, supposedly his, was taken by a lieutenant to Washington and offered to the War Office, where it was very properly refused. If it was that Indian's scalp, who scalped him? No man of his own side. Colonel Coffin's history says that the story of such a trophy being found suspended over the Speaker's chair originated in the finding of a peruke or scratch wig; but the Indian, from his prowess in defence of his country, his disputed scalp, and his desecrated grave at the Sandhill (Clover Hill), has found a continuous place in history.

By custom, prejudice, and for long supported by law, John Strachan as Archdeacon and as Bishop was minded to pursue a course towards the daily strengthening Methodist Church that left a result in many pages very bitterly penned. It cannot be gainsaid, the Methodists did the work; the Church of England assumed part of the credit. Years after the worst days of struggle, a bitter pen could write that Dr. Strachan was a man of but two ideas—one

for himself and one for his Church. Personal dislike wrote the first part of that opinion, and the second part was an unconscious tribute to a man who was working as honestly for his own Church as the Methodist was for his. The immediate cause of the denunciation was a scene on the Humber in June, 1825.

The Mississagas were then at the Credit, waiting to receive their annual payments and presents. That Lieutenant Givens of the Governor's trip up the Humber is the Colonel Givins of later years, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a well-known figure in Toronto's history. At the Governor's express desire he studied the dialects of the Six Nations, and his knowledge of the Ojibways and Mississagas made him an authority in Humber and Credit life. On this occasion he asked them to come from the Credit to the Humber, twelve miles nearer Toronto; so the Credit camp was struck, the tribe moved on, fixed wigwams, and assembled for prayers at sunset. The missionary exhorted and some pagan Indians scoffed; but Peter Jones, ever watchful, quelled their influence.

Next morning a boat arrived loaded for the distribution to Christian and heathen Indian alike. Colonel Givins and some officers arrived next, then Dr. Strachan and his wife, with several gentlemen from York. Dr. Strachan asked Peter Jones to assemble the children that he might hear them sing. The June day and the beauties of Bâby Point, the dresses of clerics and laymen in contrast with the Indians, either gaudy or untidy; the ceremony of the cutting up of the cloths for division; and over all the voices of the children as they sang their hymns, made a scene that might have killed some heartburning. After the division and the presents, a member of the Government and the Church of England divine heard two children read from the Testament and others from a school book; Dr. Strachan expressed his happiness at seeing them all so much changed, advised them to settle at the Credit and build a village, for the Government would willingly assist them; and closed his address with a prayer "for these poor natives of the woods."

The Indians then drew apart for consultation, and unanimously agreed to take the advice given; they would settle on the Credit in the following spring. Thus was inaugurated the settlement of the Mississagas at the Credit, and in spite of a certain suspicion and dislike between two religious bodies, thus also was provided a larger opportunity for the missionaries. By 1827, and eminently by the work of the Methodists, the roving, drinking Mississagas were helping by their own labour and contributions to build their own school and chapel.

In July of that year Peter Jones is writing to the Government asking at what time the Indians are to assemble at York for their payments, with the request that everything shall be definitely stated and no time lost, as now that the Indians are converted they are industrious—news that surprised Colonel Givins. A year later, Jones was told to bring the chiefs and principal men to wait upon Sir Peregrine Maitland. On arriving, the commanding officer at the garrison delivered the Governor's message, to the effect that the Government desired the Indians to be of the Church of England, give up Methodism, or lose the Government's favour. Despite Peter Jones' baptism and early life as an Episcopalian, and despite his parentage, an English father and a mother made a Churchwoman in the old Mohawk church—in spite of all these things he was a staunch Methodist and loved his conversion. But he was also a true missionary and a devoted guide, and in this great offer he abstained from influencing the chiefs, who, for the sake of their growing civilization, thought it wise not to oppose the Government's will. But Methodists as a body were incensed against the Governor for thus warning the Indians against a Church that had done so much for their condition, and they drew attention to the pagan state of a number of the Indians at the Humber meeting, as against their farming and businesslike sale of fish, begun since their conversion.

The General Council held at the Credit Mission in January, 1840, sent an address of congratulation to their Great Father, the Right Honourable Charles Poulett

Thomson, and a petition to the Queen asking that in consideration of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada about to take place, the expense of a journey by the red children to the great council fire would be too great if the fire were removed farther towards the sunrising, and they begged that the great council fire would remain at Menecing (Toronto). They felt themselves stationary on this remnant of the Toronto region, the bones of their friends lay here, and their thrift, not their laziness, made them deplore the possibility of a change. Not only was there the burial-ground on the Bâby Estate, but many fields, when under the plough, have given up flint arrows, axe-heads and numerous pipes. One find was a skull with the arrowhead embedded in it. Once, too, in the chopping down of a tree a rifle was disclosed, cached there long ago by a Mississaga in the Indian way that is still in use for parcels that will one day be claimed.

Long since the date of the skull with the arrowhead there were salmon at the mouth of the river, and when the mills at Lambton were young, Indians would shoot the dam on their way down to spear; and in the swamps near by were numerous picnic parties. For many years in the nineteenth century baskets were sold in Lambton, and the swamps of the Lower Humber furnished part of the material for making. Credit Indians came constantly, entered where they chose and took what they chose, and peaceably departed. They had the right to enter any swamp, and not longer than eighteen years ago a large party of them exercised it.

Until Brulé Point shall receive its due and the memory of St. John's House be perpetuated, the only portion of the Humber Indians' land that commemorates its early life is Exhibition Park. Had it not been for the York Pioneers and a few kindred spirits, even the site of the old fort might have been obliterated, and there, in 1887, Lord Lansdowne uttered words that should give us pause: "A community is wanting in self-respect which does not take an interest in its own history and seek to preserve those records by which that history can be traced and authenticated."



WHEN THE MILLS AT LAMETON WERE YOUNG, INDIANS WOULD SHOOT THE DAM ON THEIR WAY DOWN TO SPEAR SALMON.

XII.

OF SALMON; AND FISH STORIES, MOSTLY TRUE.

SALMON in the Humber, or no salmon in the Humber, has been a subject of dispute ever since the disappearance of the last member of the tribe; and for the benefit of future disputants it will not be amiss to set down here statements from sportsmen whose testimony and knowledge cannot be gainsaid. Nor is it amiss to note some of the absurdities in the hasty observations of the inevitable book put forth by each traveller of the superficial sort.

In the proof at large of the presence of salmon in Lake Ontario and its streams is the proof in particular of the presence of the same fish in the one river with which we are concerned. The Humber, second in importance to the Credit, was named in honour of the river in the north of England when men of the North were at the head of affairs in western Canada, and, like the Credit, it was a noted spawning ground. A military tourist of 1760 writes of "the extraordinary method of catching the fish; one person holds a lighted torch, while the second strikes the fish with a spear. September is the season in which the salmon spawn in these parts, contrary to what they do in any other place I ever knew them before."

The Honourable D. W. Smyth, Surveyor General and holder of many offices in the end of one century and the beginning of another, and who was made a baronet in reward for his services to the Province, gives us the first book devoted solely to Upper Canada. In 1799, and in a later edition, he speaks with the authority of his Department: The Humber, the Tobycocke, the Credit, and other streams towards the head of the lake, abound in fish, especially salmon.

Even in pioneer times, stories of fishy flavour travelled; and yarns via Lake Superior and Indian Express down the

Humber trail reached some of the frequenters of St. John's House. In the previous century the bison was seen in the Lake Huron district; and a descendant of one of our north shore settlers deposes that his forefathers' wandering cattle came home with half-bison offspring. The St. Lawrence porpoise, that toothed enemy of the salmon in the estuaries, has "a wondrous number of teeth all along his mouth, so that what he has he holds;" and nearer home we have the chuck-chuck-ske-sey, described by an Indian turned missionary and known on the Humber, as about the size of a small parrot, the color of the feathers like a jay, the wings short, the beak small and broad, with an upper and lower row of teeth like a human being. "In this last respect it differs from any other bird." But for thrilling interest, *cherchez la femme*, in northern waters. From Superior came the story of the bonâ fide mermaid of 1782 whose appearance was described and sworn to before the Court of King's Bench at Montreal, by one of the several men who saw her.

Tracing the authorities year by year, we have the Commandant of the French Niagara writing of the time described by Major Robert Rogers. Pouchot by 1759 knew the north shore accurately and describes the several rivers that empty into it, "one especially where they take prodigious quantities of fish, which at certain seasons go from the lake into these rivers."

In 1792 a settler of Darlington, Roger Conant, said that his first food eaten in Upper Canada came from the salmon taken beside his hastily built log house; and thirteen years later he could not paddle his canoe across the stream for salmon at spawning time.

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, who unfortunately did not continue his observations far beyond Niagara, says: "In General Simcoe's opinion, Upper Canada is not only capable of satisfying all the wants of its inhabitants, but also of becoming a granary for England," and at the same time Simcoe is looking forward to a large export trade in fish with Russia.

The first Act of Parliament relating to any part of

America was that brought forward in 1548 to protect and encourage the English fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland; and by the time of the third session of our Provincial Parliament, destruction here had become serious. In 1807 is an Act for the Preservation of Salmon, a sentence within brackets stating that the fish may be taken with spear or hook and line, but not with a net, in the Newcastle and Home Districts. And three years later came an Act looking to the preservation of the salmon in the Home District.

The spear of 1807, and of before and after, was a piece of household furniture. Two kinds were in use on these rivers, one on the javelin principle, and another like a fork with movable prongs attached to a long shaft. For years the Indians came to the forge on the Garrison Common to have these sharpened.

By 1814 the list shows that salmon trout appear in the spring in the lake, larger than the salmon and fatter; but that "the salmon appear in very large quantities in the fall of the year and penetrate up all the waters that run into the lake, so high that they are often thrown out with the hand; but they are commonly taken near the mouth of the rivers by the Indians by means of spears. They commonly weigh from ten to twenty pounds, and may be purchased of the Indians at one shilling each, or for a gill of whisky, a cake of bread, or the like trifle." Unfortunately the man who compiled this list also knew of seals in Rice Lake, and averred that the seals of Lake Ontario had not only been seen, but caught.

Both east and west of Toronto at the beginning of the last century, land was paid for in salmon, that is, fish were caught, salted, barrelled, and sent to Oswego or down the St. Lawrence, and the proceeds applied to the purchase.

In 1820 it is written that Niagara is a barrier that the salmon cannot surmount, and that they abound more on the north than on the south side of the lake. By 1825 a Bill was introduced relating to the better construction of dams on the Credit and other small streams; but proceedings were dropped for lack of compliance with a necessary rule. In March the Report dated from the Committee

Room of the House of Assembly says, "The Committee to whom was referred the Petition of sundry inhabitants of the Home District, on the subject of erecting Mill Dams on any Rivers or Water Courses, navigable, or capable of being rendered so, or accessible to fish from the Lake, beg leave to state that no information has been laid before them, relative to any of the Rivers or Water Courses aforesaid, except the Rivers Credit and Humber; that from that information they are of opinion those streams are not navigable for boats of any description unless at particular seasons of the year; that Mill Dams may be erected with an inclined plane on the plan of one foot rise to four feet of space, over which the fish may pass up, and rafts down, without obstruction." In 1828 a Bill was assented to concerning the better construction of aprons and dams "to facilitate the descent of lumber and the ascent of fish;" but it had, alas, little influence on the Humber.

After 1830, serious writing by good sportsmen is continuous for a number of years. The most prominent in the local list are the Magraths of Erindale; and as they fished the Humber as well as their home stream, the Credit, their racy descriptions are of interest for both. Magrath of the "Letters" insists that he has taken from the Credit, in spring, as fine fish as he ever met with in Ireland, and as firm and full of curd as if within ten miles of the sea instead of five hundred. It was still a matter of doubt whether the salmon of Lake Ontario visited the ocean every year; and he gives it as his opinion that, according to the natural history of the fish, it must do so. "It is only in waters that communicate with the sea that they are to be found. No salmon was ever seen in any river or lake above the Falls of Niagara." In his enumeration of the fish of the lakes he gives salmon, salmon trout, herring, pickerel, catfish, pike, whitefish and maskenonge; "the two latter are of superior quality." The salmon trout were more or less despised, "neither squeamish nor particular, and, as to flies, will rise at anything." In winter it was not amusing to Magrath to try the method of sitting at an aperture in the ice with bait or spear; but neverthe-

less he records some dozens of trout hooked through the aperture when the ice was ten inches thick.

In one party, when the run was at its height, the men speared as fast as they could throw the fish behind them. In drawing up their boat they had inadvertently left it halfway across a log, and, too busy to take their eyes off the water, they worked until a crash made them look behind them. The weight of the fish had broken the boat's back; and that was not by any means a record take.

The mythical Martin Doyle gives in his wonderful list salmon of fair size; and James Inches, crabbed and contentious, cannot be blamed for scoffing at his lists. Inches despises the accounts of game on land and water given by every writer reputable or otherwise, for "without a parcel of such letters, written for the purpose of deception, it seems no book on Canada can now be complete."

The method of killing was one of the favourite descriptions. The salmon, floating near the surface where they came within the influence of the light, were tame and could be struck with ease. Magrath's pages have often been quoted, but they cannot be omitted here. He says that, if by day, a bright sun was preferred; a tree was felled across the stream, the sportsman took his position on it, and by care and absolute stillness forty or fifty were got in a few hours. In night-fishing, by light skiff or canoe, the work was more exciting. In a socket in the bow was secured the jack, a circular iron grate on pivots that gave to the movements of the canoe and kept the fire upright. The jack was supplied with chunks of pitch pine, a heap of these about eight inches by one and a half being piled in the centre of the canoe. The spearman stood behind the bright continuous flame that flared three feet high, in deep water working alone; in shallow, the stern man substituted a spear for the paddle to keep the craft from bolting in the rapids, and also he often got a fish missed by the bow. A struck salmon shows the slightest wound white in the water. To the new-comer the order was, "for shallow, strike nearer than he appears; for deep, nearer still." The spear was three-pronged, with a twelve-foot handle of

best white ash. In these waters the Indians used for a light-jack a slender pole split at the top in which was held a torch of birch bark, a troublesome contrivance and usually avoided by the whites. Another method of killing was to erect a stage in the river, supply it with sufficient torchlight, and spear the fish as they passed up, a plan adapted from the Indians, who lighted a fire on the bank.

One writer of 1831, of keen palate, describes the lakes teeming with fish, salmon and others. "Salmon and whitefish are delicious, particularly the latter;" and he declares he knows no fish in Britain to surpass it.

When the Credit and its neighbours first began to be written of as a resort in spring and autumn for salmon and other fish, numbers of persons were earning or making a living by night spearing. The fish were sold at thirty or thirty-five shillings per barrel of two hundred pound weight. Nets were forbidden in the river or near the mouth at that time, so that the fish should have free way up stream; and before the Act preventing any but Indians fishing on Indian ground, two persons in a canoe with spear and torch sometimes killed eight or ten barrels in a night, sometimes none at all, as the fish ran in shoals. The improvident white has after all done more damage than the improvident red; for when the tribe had its settlement on the Credit, one of its earliest efforts towards the future was a petition that the fishery might be protected.

The King's Mill itself had been an enemy. By 1833 the sawdust on the water and the multitudes of floating oak staves were named by a Credit fisherman as chief causes of the disappearance of the fish, and the King's Mill was the first to send these ills upon the waters. In some tests made a few years ago by a Professor of Queen's University it was found that oak sawdust was not so poisonous as that of pine or cedar; but the preponderance of oak in the early mills did not spare the salmon. The floating oak staves were evidently five and six feet long by two inches thick, and those found in the river bed within recent years were stained the deep colour of age.

By 1836 the fears of one hundred and eighty-five per-

sons of the Home District were stirred enough to send in a petition stating that by the indiscriminate mode of fishing the salmon fishery of the Province was in danger of annihilation, and they prayed that the existing law might be revised and amended.

A Bonnycastle map of three years earlier had a side note stating that "an extensive and improving Fishery for Herring, White Fish and Salmon has been established this year for home consumption and salting." That gallant officer has contributed, unofficially, to the list of fish stories. From him we learn that loons dive so deep and stay under water so long, that fishermen "actually" catch them on the hooks of their deepest lines in the Niagara when fishing at the bottom for salmon trout; and thirty years later there are Indian tales that the loon disappears for a day below water.

MacTaggart describes lake salmon as of twenty to thirty pounds, good to eat, but with no connection with those of the salt water. McGregor, of the same decade, uses his observation to different purpose. He considers it remarkable that neither salmon nor herring has been caught in any of the lakes that do not communicate with the St. Lawrence, and that how either the one or the other ever got into the great Lakes must ever puzzle naturalists to account for.

The lists of 1844 contain salmon, sturgeon, "and various other kinds of fish;" but by 1847 the salmon here is unworthy of comparison with that of the British rivers. A sportsman had recently exhibited the same wonderment at the fish ascending the St. Lawrence, and of its quality he says, "I ate of them several times at Toronto, but the fish is greatly deteriorated by the fatiguing journey up the rapids, and loses much of the pink colour and fine flavour. There is a large fish in the lake which resembles the *salmo salar* a good deal, and passes with many for that princely fish. To the practised eye the difference is at once apparent, in the greater size of the head, the duller colour, in the different number of rays in the fins, and in the shape of the tail." This Irishman, an ardent sportsman, had

taken fish from many rivers; and in his as in most of the descriptions the Ontario salmon provided quantity, a lesser degree of quality, and but little sport. Almost every one of the visitors says that he can hear of little or no fly fishing.

A measured criticism is given in 1862 by Sir James E. Alexander, a true sportsman not to be surpassed by even Colonel Andrew Haggard. The careless manner in which some of the greatest boons of the Almighty Creator are treated is evinced in the reckless destruction of the valuable salmon family, declares Sir James. In describing the absence of anything that can be called salmon fishing west of Quebec, he grants that "it is true the salmon ascends the St. Lawrence and enters the St. Francis, the Credit, the Humber and other streams beyond Toronto, and are there speared or taken in nets; but they have not, that I can ascertain, been taken in any of them with the fly. The fact is, I suppose, that they become wearied and spent with the long voyage over a thousand miles which they perform in the fresh water, and are not on their arrival in these waters in condition to rise with the same vigour and recklessness which they do when recently arrived from the depths of the sea."

But he strikes a just medium. He goes on to say that no man in his senses could suggest that in a young country any obstruction should be thrown in the way of the erection of mills; but that every man of reflection will grant that where they are built the rivers should not be so blocked as to prevent a single salmon from ascending them. The Act of Parliament providing for certain construction in dams was passed too late. Alexander contends that salmon fishing in Canada would not only supply recreation to the rich man, but a wholesome and luxurious article of food to all.

He, also, avoids confusion between the salmon and its lake cousin. "When we assert that there is no salmon fishing to be found westward of Quebec, except in the Jacques Cartier, we of course do not allude to the salmon of the Great Lakes, which is a distinct fish from the true *salmo salar*."

Dr. William Agar Adamson, of Sir James Alexander's time and spirit, and one who fished the Credit, writes warmly of the deplorable decrease, and shows how salmon leaps could easily have been constructed cheaply. He asserts that with proper protection to the spawning fish, many of the rivers of Upper Canada would again abound in salmon. He had himself taken the true *salmo salar* at the east end of Lake Ontario; "and many persons in Toronto know that they are taken annually at the mouths of the Credit and Humber, and at Bond Head, in the months of May and June, which is earlier than they are generally killed below Quebec." He inclines to the belief that they will not only live but breed in fresh water without visiting the sea.

The wholesale destruction in the welter at the foot of dams was in part self-inflicted, as fighting and the madness to reach the spawning ground led to unmeasured damage. Within recent months a Report on this subject comes from a Fishery Board in Wales, showing how even in protected waters fish are liable to extinction. A chief bailiff reported that large numbers had been found dead and had been buried; that some deaths were due to fighting, some to over-spawning, and some to otters, which had taken a bite out of them and left them.

Again, in 1862, we have an authority, Dr. J. B. Hurlbert, officially using the present tense. "The salmon from the ocean also ascends to the head of Lake Ontario, 1,200 miles from the Atlantic." In his list of fish collected and ordered for the International Exhibition of London, he gives as the chief fishes from Lake Huron and Lake Ontario the salmon trout, whitefish and herring, reserving a separate sentence for the salmon from the ocean in its long voyage.

Long ago the head miller helped Thomas Fisher's little son to make a weir, but they bereft the catch of any sport. The salmon, diverted into smooth water, dropped over, the weir was adjusted for night work only, and in the morning the lad picked out his fish at leisure. In the transitions of the waters of the Humber, "the angler steals his way

back to the covert of the willow tree," hoping for the speckled trout and perch that he has heard were once there; for once upon a time speckled trout came down in the creeks, and good pike and bass were in the lower Humber, waiting for Thomas Fisher's grandson; but fishing was spoiled by too many perch. Eels were got on night lines, and occasionally a monster Channel catfish ran up from his haunts in Burlington Bay. Pike were easily got by shooting at them, without a hit, when they dodged the canoe almost cannily; but the concussion stunned them and they turned over, helpless, to be lifted out easily by hand.

The son of a first settler describes Haines' fish-trap under Gamble's mill, where householders often sent their messengers to make purchases. The price was always the same, for salmon large or small, three York shillings; but the fish were invariably of good size, and the supply was constant.

The connection between the Wye of Hereford and the Humber of Canadian York was continuous in the early days of settlement, and Mrs. Simcoe in her walks and rides, when she compared the Humber to the Wye, chose out bits as another Symond's Yat. Shakespeare's Welchman, with his river whose name he could not remember and the river called Wye, as like as his fingers is to his fingers and salmons in both, is recalled in the spring of 1913, when a 37-pound salmon was lifted at Symond's Yat. Time was when the Canadian apprentice stipulated for salmon not more than thrice a week; but progress has killed for ever the possibility of lifting another salmon from the Humber's Symond's Yat.

A genuine fisherman and a modest man, whose home is in Toronto, tells me of a true salmon taken in the Credit about forty years ago, and the history of that fish is possibly traced in the article from Mr. C. W. Young, presently quoted. An earlier article from Dr. J. H. Richardson in the *University Monthly* of January, 1908, will combine with it in furnishing the last word on the vexed question.

Dr. Richardson describes a spearhead sent to him in 1907 by Mr. W. C. Grubbe, of the West Branch of the Humber, which had been turned up by the plough forty years

before. It had lain about on stumps, and in the end was hung in the crutch of a young elm. Years afterwards the tree was cut down and the spearhead found embedded in the wood, and when the piece was put in the fire to release it, it dropped out, quite encrusted with rust. Many such spearheads will be found among the farmers settled along the streams that empty into Lake Ontario. Mr. Grubbe's had evidently been made by the village blacksmith; others are shapely and artistically wrought, and evidently made from a pattern.

Dr. Richardson states and brings forward proof, that, first, at the time of the early settlement of Ontario, salmon abounded in our lake rivers; second, they were ruthlessly massacred by means of such spears, until they became extinct; third, they were genuine *salmo salar*; fourth, they never migrated to the sea.

The present generation may ask and need more definite assurance on these points than would men of earlier memories, and Dr. Richardson gives his proofs clearly and picturesquely. Mrs. Jameson's testimony is not of actual value beyond the fact of spears being used for the catch of two hundred in one night by her hosts the Magraths; he gives an extract from the *Gazette* of 1798 concerning the sale of a farm on Yonge Street about twelve miles from York, one of the advantages being an excellent salmon fishery, large enough to support a number of families; he gives Dr. Scadding's experience on the Don, before the establishment of mills and manufactories and the spoiling of that stream; he quotes from Dr. Adamson, of Erindale, who wrote that every stream in Ontario, twenty-five years earlier, abounded in salmon; he refers to Mr. Thomas Shortiss, who in 1845 had a hunting lodge on the Lake Shore Road near the Humber, and who, while there, saw the Indians spearing salmon in hundreds,—when the fish sold for a York shilling or a few pounds of flour each.

He tells us of Mr. Alfred Adamson, who spent his life at Erindale, and who had seen the Indians spear five hundred in a night at the Indian Dam; and of Mr. Grubbe, who, as a boy, often saw his father spearing salmon, or, from the head gates of a sawmill, watched fishermen spear-

ing at night while an assistant held a torch; and of raftsmen who would often exchange a salmon for a loaf of bread.

“However incredible this may be regarded by the present generation, it is an indisputable fact that at the beginning of the last century salmon were as numerous in proportion to the size of the rivers as they now are in British Columbia.” They were doomed to destruction, because every settlement demanded a grist and sawmill; the mills required dams, and no salmon could pass to the spawning ground, except the few that survived the gauntlet of the mill races. They crowded at the foot of the dams, and as every settler had a spear they were slaughtered wholesale. Those that escaped the spear were taken by gill net in thousands; the numbers gradually decreased; and in the 'sixties they were exterminated. Two made their appearance at Erindale about 1888 and were seen by Dr. Adamson and others, the weight of one estimated at fifteen to twenty pounds, the other seven to ten pounds. Most people who are parties to the long argument on the opposing side think the large salmon of early days is not the true salmon, but, like Mrs. Jameson, consider it a large species of trout. Dr. Richardson proves his own view from the testimony of many sportsmen qualified to judge.

Dr. Adamson was in doubt as to how or when the fish migrated. Naturalists were in doubt. Therefore Dr. Richardson solves the doubt by known facts. The mystery of the genuine appearing so early, puzzling Mr. Shortiss and others, is made clear from the table arranged by Dr. Richardson from his gathered facts:—

The salmon leave the Gulf about March 1,	
They ascend during March and April	2 months.
They reach the head of the lake, May 1,	
They rest in the lake, May, June, July, August,	
September	5 months.
They spawn during October, November.....	2 months.
They rest during December and January	2 months.
They descend to the Gulf in February	1 month.

12 months.

"The name Salar, as applied to Ontario salmon, is in my opinion inappropriate, and could only have been applied to them in ignorance of their habits as I have stated them . . . not a month in pure salt water." The complete extermination of these fish in so short a time should be a warning, he considers, to the Pacific Coast. Early salmon in Toronto is now a matter of history, and he tells us that "the Honourable Charles Small always prided himself on having the first real salmon of the season, and did not care what he paid for it. Joe Keshicks, an Indian, got them at the mouth of the Rouge, or the Credit, or the Humbler." Mr. Small invariably had one on his table on March 17th, his daughter's birthday.

The spoiling of these waters is a lesson that has not travelled far in its influence. Before and after Dr. Richardson, pamphlets were issued on the fishing industries in general, and the selfishness of saw-mill proprietors was always there to be inveighed against; water is fouled in a way that is ruinous to the fish; and even in late years protests have been strong against mill owners who set at defiance the laws which have been passed to prohibit a short-sighted course.

In 1902 the present tense appears again. *Salmo Salar*, *Linnaeus*, is the first item in a long list of the "fishes known to occur in the St. Lawrence River," put forth by the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, the note stating "St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario." In the Canadian Almanacs the limits of close seasons are given; but the line for the close season for salmon is now blank for Ontario.

This question has not been dealt with fully in any official publication; but references to it are scattered through all the earlier Reports of the Dominion Fisheries Department, and these references are summarized by C. W. Young in an article in *Rod and Gun* which I condense here:

The present muddled and fish-proof condition of many of our streams shows little likeness to the clear waters that not so long ago, after all, harboured salmon. A sportsman, with many days of fishing still before him, in his boyhood caught a grilse in the county of Halton, a waif

and stray of the migrant army, and the blue books at Ottawa bear out his assertions. A Report made to Parliament in 1869 describes the early times when all the streams on the north shore were sweet water and full of the prince of fish—so full that they afforded as good sport as the shooting of a fox—when men used clubs and pitchforks and women seined them with flannel petticoats. After the last straggler had been speared, netted, hooked or clubbed, the reappearance at uncertain intervals of what seemed to be a lineal descendant was a matter of much excitement. But the blue books do not explain how it came about that the creeks east of Toronto were frequented by salmon long after they had disappeared from the Humber and the Credit.

Mr. Young shows that by 1885 the cutting down of the forests had reduced the volume of water in the creeks where the artificially fed salmon had gone up to spawn, and instinct made them desert shallows that were unsafe. Hence the abandonment of the Newcastle hatchery.

Also, in 1873, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries made a statement which may explain away the surprise felt by some sportsmen in the few years concerned: "Adult salmon, which were undoubtedly the produce of Mr. Wilmot's operations in fish culture, are now found in nearly all the streams between the Bay of Quinté and the mouth of the Niagara River. Many of these streams were last autumn literally crowded with breeding fish."

Fishing of sorts still obtains in the Humber, chiefly at the Lambton dam, where occasionally more than fifty men with dip nets, some of them up to their waists in the water, secure several waggon loads. Sometimes there is better sport, such as the taking, in the lower river, of a bass weighing four and a half pounds.

But for the prince of fish and his life in the Humber, we must leave him with the sportsmen from whom we have so much testimony. An Irishman or a Scot surely knows a salmon when he sees it. Sir Walter's galloping fishermen and Grierson of Lag on the Solway sands were no more sure of their fish than is Sir James Alexander, or than Dr. Adamson, or the north country Thomas Fisher; or than Dr. Richardson in his critical analysis.

XIII.

FORMATION, FAUNA, FLORA.

ALTHOUGH Dr. A. P. Coleman is the final authority on our formation, there have always been guesses at the riddle of existence; and as far as they are connected with the Humber it is not a waste of time to look back at the guessers.

Pouchot, the versatile Commandant of Niagara, depicts our mountainous littoral and narrow beach, and his remarks on formation and appearance are naïve. He or his editor describes the terrace or chain of hills that extends eastwards into the country of the Five Nations, and he does not doubt that these hills once formed the lake shore and that the waters gradually subsided, leaving the plains that surround it. He finds that the plain, as discovered from the mountains near Niagara, is three or four leagues wide, extending from the shores of Toronto around the lake, varying according to the trend of the shore. The parts north of Toronto have good timber and soil; the timber is pine and cedar on account of the vicinity of the mountains; and "the latter are not as high as the Vauges."

Bonnycastle's map of 1833 displays a side note that "a salt spring has been discovered near the Military Hospital, and brine springs are met with in every part of the town in digging wells at a depth of from thirty to fifty feet. Large pieces of bituminous slate coal are washed up on the lake shore after storms, and the clay forming the steep bank of the shore is full of small pieces of it."

Sir Charles Lyell considers the ridges and other marks of ancient water levels, between Toronto and Lake Simcoe, as referable, some of them, to ancient beaches and lines of cliff found on the margins of channels of the sea; others, including some of the loftiest ridges, as having originated

in banks or bars of sand, found, not at the extreme edge of a body of water, but at some distance from the shore, in proportion as the water obtained a certain shallowness by the upheaval of the land. Professor Chapman stated in 1861 that whatever the explanation the undoubted fact remains that at the close of the Drift Period a vast fresh-water sea extended over the greater part of Western Canada, and at a level of at least five hundred feet above the present surface of Lake Ontario.

In 1853 the owner of a house on the gravel ridge at Carlton was so sure that he had built on the fringe of an antediluvian ocean that he spoke of his house as his place on Carlton Ocean Beach. He computed that he lived one hundred and eighty feet above the lake and four hundred and thirty above the sea. In taking gravel from the southern face of the ridge he found, at a depth of twenty feet, an Indian arrow-head and a stone implement like a painter's muller. Massive bones and the horns of large deer from the same pit were either carried away or given away by the workmen. The owner felt convinced that, being at the very bottom of the pit, these relics must have lain there when no such beach existed, or ever since the Oak Ridges ceased to be an ocean beach.

Writing in general terms, a scientist in 1860 says that Lorraine shales or Hudson River group, alternate very thin beds of limestone and shale, extend from the creek at Oakville along the north side of the lake to the River Rouge. Sixty years ago it was written that the only natural exposures of solid rock visible near Toronto were to be found on the shores of Lake Naff, a mile west of the town, and in the deep gullies which the Don and Humber have excavated in their passage to the lake. In the few references to that small piece of water there is nothing definite enough to give it a place now; but the supposition is that Lake Naff was Grenadier Pond.

In 1861 Sir Sandford Fleming gives a description of the flat plain that skirts Toronto and its boundary ter-

ances, Pouchot's mountains. The terrace that crosses Yonge Street about half a mile north of Yorkville trends westerly and slightly north-westerly a little over three miles to the point where the Northern Railway then crossed the Davenport Road. At this point the terrace changes its direction and a peculiar gravel deposit begins. The terrace, instead of continuing its uniform westerly direction, takes a sudden bend towards the north and sweeps diagonally through the third and fourth concessions of the township for a distance of nearly four miles, until it reaches the neighbourhood of Weston. Here it loses itself in the rising ground ascending easterly from the Humber, but is again developed on the western bank of the river, and, extending southerly, becomes strongly marked near the village of Lambton Mills, where it again makes a sudden detour and sweeps westerly along the line of Dundas Street and continues in a direction generally parallel to Lake Ontario through the neighbouring township. Sir Charles Lyell maintains that this terrace marks the margin of the sea at some early period, while others consider it to be the former boundary of Lake Ontario.

The next date of interest is 1872, when Dr. H. A. Nicholson gives a report of the dredgings in which he took part, carried on within a radius of ten miles from Toronto. The work was done by hand, the dredges and rope such as are ordinarily used in deep sea dredging, with the addition of a bag of embroidery canvas attached outside the ordinary net. After details of the results in Toronto Bay, he comes to the Humber. There the bottom, except close to the shore, consisted of a tenacious bluish-grey clayey mud, sometimes with reddish patches in it. Vegetable life was very scanty, and animal life consisted of many minute annelids. Close inshore, the bottom consisted of shingle derived from the shales and grits of the Hudson River group.

Part of the Hinde article, written in 1877 and referred to by Dr. A. P. Coleman, is reproduced here:

"The succession of strata at Scarboro Heights, Garrison Common and Humber Bay:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| 7. | Stratified sand and gravel, Post Glacial ... | 15 feet. |
| 6. | Till or boulder clay, No. 3 | absent. |
| 5. | Laminated clay and sand, Interglacial | absent. |
| 4. | Till or boulder clay, No. 2 | absent. |
| 3. | { Interglacial fossiliferous sand | absent. |
| 2. | { Interglacial fossiliferous clay | 20 feet. |
| 1. | Till or boulder clay, No. 1 | 25 feet. |
| | Palaeozoic flags and shales | 5 feet exposed. |

"2. Interglacial fossiliferous clay. Next above this lower till there are seen in the cliff to the west of the Humber Bay beds of stratified clay, with some vegetable remains in them. My object in mentioning this small patch at the Humber Bay is to show their true position in the series, resting uncomformably on the lower till; for at Scarboro these clays extend beneath the lake level and they might have been deemed of Preglacial instead of Interglacial age. If a boring were made at Scarboro, it is highly probable there would be found a till and then the Palaeozoic rocks, in the same manner as at the Humber Bay. If it had not been for the small outlier of the fossiliferous clays at the Humber Bay, the beds in Scarboro Cliff might have been regarded of Preglacial age."

The next investigation brings in the currents of Humber Bay, and in the preliminary measures for a trunk sewer in 1891-1892, the Provincial Board of Health, the Board of Trade, the Mayor and City Engineer, took counsel together, and precise information as to currents was demanded. Stations were placed, nine in number, along the city front, from the mouth of the Humber to Victoria Park, in water ranging from thirty to sixty feet in depth, No. 1 in Humber Bay off West Toronto water-works. L. J. Clark, of the party of investigators, who gives the description quoted, considered it unfortunate that they had not a boat capable of standing a rougher sea; the highest velocity of wind they were able to work in was twenty-five miles per hour. The phenomenon of the current being in

Fig. 3.



SECTION AT HUMBER BAY.

- (b) Till. Lowest Beds resting on the Cambro-Silurian Flags.
 (c) Interglacial fossiliferous Clay. (Beds contorted.)
 (d) Sandy Loam (Post-glacial).
 (l) Lake Level.

Height of Cliff, 25 feet.

Length of Section, 100 yards.

From the *Canadian Journal*, April, 1877;
 paper by G. J. Hinde, F.G.S.

a contrary direction to the wind was more marked in Humber Bay than to the south of the Island. The action of counter-undercurrents indicates that the waters, being driven to the west, pile up at Burlington Beach, and the head thus raised forces a portion of the water back as an undercurrent. This would be more noticeable in Humber Bay if it were more closed in by Mimico Point. Instead of giving the reverse undercurrent close in by shore, it would probably be found out in a couple of hundred feet or so of water.

Next in the sequence of dates is a paper by Dr. P. H. Bryce in 1890. After a comprehensive paragraph on the rock and clay formation of the Province, he says: "In addition, however, to these broad divergencies in the post-glacial deposits, overlying the rock strata, we have the innumerable local differences, nowhere better marked than about Toronto, depending upon the denuding agencies which have hollowed out the whole Lake Ontario basin and produced the valleys of denudation, such as the Humber and Don valleys, and the many smaller ravines distinctive in the sharp-cut outlines which deep erosion of these blue clays everywhere presents."

A paper by A. W. G. Wilson in 1901 states that some of the streams have cut through the glacial deposits into the bed rock, and that streams entering Lake Ontario west of Toronto have cut deep-sided ravines and valleys through the shale drift. The present streams meander in courses largely independent of their valley sides, here truncating an old spur, there widening the old meander belt. Sometimes there are two or three back meanders between adjacent spurs of the old valley.

Since this chapter was written a book of great importance has been put forth by the Canadian Institute, and I quote a few paragraphs from it before coming to the detailed information given by Dr. Coleman for the Humber Valley.

"Great river valleys were carved below the present level of the sea, showing that the land stood higher than now, the most important being the 'Laurentian River,' as

it has been named by Dr. Spencer, which drained the Upper Lakes region through what is now Georgian Bay to the Ontario valley, which it entered near Toronto." In the enumeration of the best exposures of Hudson River shale, one is given along the Humber south of Lambton Mills, a shale "grey and non-bituminous, and at intervals of a foot or two there is a layer of impure limestone which must be selected out before the shale is ground for brick-making. The limy layers are very fossiliferous, and Professor Parks gives a list of more than sixty species found along the Don and Humber Rivers."

In Dr. Coleman's article of 1899 he speaks of the researches of Messrs. Gilbert and Taylor, researches "which seem to prove that after the Iroquois lake was drained, there was a short time during which the Gulf of St. Lawrence extended into the Ontario basin."

"The recent finding of fresh water shells in Iroquois beach gravels close to Toronto appears to settle the long-debated question as to whether the Iroquois water was a fresh water lake or an arm of the sea. . . It is worthy of note that the two sand and gravel spits closing the mouths of the Humber and Don bays of Lake Iroquois were formed in very much the same way as the present Toronto Island. . . The growth of these bars was followed or accompanied by the almost complete silting up of the two bays, which are now plains more or less dissected by the modern rivers with their tributaries. The shores of Lake Iroquois near Toronto were usually low, with gently sloping swells of boulder clay rising inland, but at two points, the Davenport ridge and Scarboro Heights, they formed cliffs, in the latter case rising more than one hundred and fifty feet above the water. At the highest part the Iroquois shore for half a mile lay to the south of the shore of Lake Ontario, the only instance in its whole circumference where the old shore encroached on the territory of the present lake.

"As a result of the growth of the two bars, the two main rivers were crowded towards the west, so that when the water fell to its present level the preglacial channels

were not again occupied, but fresh ones were cut on the western side of the valleys. In the case of the Humber we find a wide valley, with little rock cutting above the old bar, and a narrow, steep walled channel cut through fifty feet or more of Hudson shale where the river passes the western end of the bar. Fossils occur in the gravels of each of the bars described, the one at Toronto Junction affording numerous shed horns of caribou and wapiti at a depth of twelve to twenty feet below the crest of the ridge."

Of the several lakes preceding that one whose geological name is Lake Iroquois, Dr. Coleman says it has seemed unwise to give separate names to the old lakes, "whose deposits lie, as we may say, encapsuled within one another in the Ontario basin;" and reference in his paper has been made only to the various stages clearly shown in the drift of the region. The Iroquois beach, "so magnificently displayed and so thoroughly studied," deserves of course a distinctive name. He considers that the complicated bit of history outlined in his article affords fresh proof of the delicate balance of affairs in the Great Lakes region during the last few tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of years.

Hitherto the Valley of the Humber has never been described in detail, and through Dr. Coleman's kindness I am able to include a description prepared for this sketch.

The first partial analysis of the valley in a scientific paper seems to be that quoted from Jennings Hinde, and that paper was referred to by Dr. Coleman in 1899 in his "Lake Iroquois and Its Predecessors at Toronto." But, briefly, "The ancient Humber probably flowed into Toronto Bay; but in post-glacial times during the existence of Lake Iroquois a gravel bar was built from Davenport for two miles west across a bay of the ancient lake. When Lake Iroquois was drained, the river had to cut a new valley farther west. This shows drift above (boulder clay and Iroquois beach deposits), with low cliffs of Lorraine shale rising thirty or forty feet above the river and showing in its bed from Lambton Mills to the ruined mill at the head of boat

navigation. The lower two miles of the river are navigable because of the slack water due to the rise of the outlet of Lake Ontario. All the streams entering Lake Ontario towards its west end have the same peculiarity. The Lorraine shale is quite fossiliferous, as may be seen through museum collections; and the old gravel bar of Lake Iroquois has furnished teeth of mammoth and horns and bones of caribou, which must have been common inhabitants of the Iroquois shore."

The tooth found in the Humber gravel pit in the course of a day's haul was perhaps treasured by its enthusiastic owner as a possible belonging of the earliest settler; but the otter skull found close to a human skull in the same pit has not yet received a full analysis.

The books of each year, up to comparatively recent times, are full of descriptions of pigeons, passenger, rock, or wood. With the bourgeoning of shrubs and young beech the wild pigeon appeared in clouds, not reckoned in thousands but in millions, a wonderful sight, and darkening the sun. They have been shot in this part of Ontario with the wild rice of Mexico in their crops, leaving an extraordinary inference as to the rapidity and length of flight between each settling. They moved in wonderful and irregular clouds, not in strings or in any kind of figure. Some clouds have been supposed to be five acres in extent, and the havoc to hardwood buds was inestimable. It was called the most characteristic bird of Canada, peculiarly graceful and sometimes remarkably beautiful in plumage; "its habits were completely erratic," and in 1799 the settlers knew that its fecundity surpassed that of the locust of the East. Forests then were devastated as by a hurricane, sulphur fumes were used, and hogs were turned loose to fatten on the bodies. In one prodigious flight over the lake a cannon loaded with grape shot caused great slaughter, and hundreds were picked up by small boats. Sometimes opposing columns would meet in mid-air, when the rapidity of their flight sent hundreds to the ground, dead or stunned; and of their ordinary flights, dwellers on the

Humber to-day remember the myriads that settled and the thousands that were knocked down with brooms and sticks.

The same old residents tell us of the wonderful timber of cedar and pine in the swamp, mounting fifteen feet high in fallen trees, a maze of crossed logs. Where that swamp was are now the best of market gardens, but in those days it made a refuge for innumerable birds. In addition to the collections of fish and flesh and fowl gathered in the neighbourhood of Toronto and displayed in our Government's cases, there are some individual records from collectors on the Humber. It is true that the song birds of Ontario do not compare with those of any part of England; but the statement used to be made in simple terms that there were no song birds in Canada. At the same time the strange little tree toad was often a great delight to the newcomer, and the Canadian band was written of seriously enough. But the swamps that preceded the market gardens harboured the best song birds that this part of the country could produce, and in winter they made a warm shelter. In the winter of 1853, among the various denizens of the shelter were spruce and ruffed grouse, quail, pine linnet, goldfinch, titmouse and European waxwing.

Lower down the river, the fish hawk and osprey, in numbers at the Island and less numerous at the Humber, arrived in the spring, and by the time we reach the lists of 1890, we have in May several pairs of chickadees nesting, a pair of mourning warblers, and on the same day song sparrows and a beautiful male passenger pigeon, besides the ordinary kingfisher. Later in the month a green heron arrived; in August a large flock of Bonaparte gulls were seen standing on pieces of wood floating in the Bay; in November came a flock of tree sparrows and a saw-whet owl; and in the following spring an American bittern, the Caspian tern, American mergansers and white-winged scoters. The bald-headed eagle used to be seen occasionally.

Formerly the river near the mouth had wood duck, all

the common duck, snipe and woodcock. Abundance of game and few restrictions made a full larder. Duck shooting provided food and easy shooting not worthy of being called sport, and there were men who suggested Dr. Dunlop's method of sending a bullet into the flock from one barrel, then meeting them as they came overhead with the other filled with small shot. Snipe were plentiful, on the Island and in the Humber marshes, so plentiful that in the 'forties they enter into history. An aged Chief Justice who could not take medicine but who did like snipe, was attended by an army medical man, who was a person of resource and sagacity. Therefore, to keep his patient in good humour and health, the doctor set forth each day for snipe; and on this delicate food the aged jurist was supported for a couple of months. But the frost set in, the snipe departed, and the doctor lost his patient.

Fat venison abounded between the Humber and the Credit, and the first game laws were mild and merciful. The woods between the town and the Humber turned out bears of huge size while the forest was untouched, and bear stories that are serious enough come from the banks of the Humber, from Runnymede, and the Garrison Common. But the discriminating and sentimental bear lived nearer Yonge Street. A plot had been cleared and turned as far as might be into a country seat; and after the transformation a family of bears appeared, expecting the joys of yesteryear. An elderly one climbed on a stump, gazed at the improvements long and deliberately, looked mournful, descended, and shuffled off.

In 1831 we are assured that in the Lake Ontario district not only hares and rabbits are in abundance, but that the buffalo must not be omitted. Twenty years later we are expected to believe that the black and silver fox are among the commoner animals near here; but the rest of the list is better, the beaver and the star-nosed mole and four kinds of squirrel being easily verified. The beaver perhaps produced the pair that wandered into Colonel Denison's grounds in 1884; and of the squirrels, black and

flying abounded in the days of rills and speckled trout and were sometimes caged.

When the first notes for this sketch were put together, a family party was being held at the edge of the river near Scouts' Barn. The children were attending their first kindergarten, or rather they were being instructed under the Montessori method. Mrs. Mink was the patient instructress, and some day, with the Scouts' help, she may be free of her shyness. There are Scouts who have already heard the wind in the willows and joined the supper party at Mole-end, and Minkswell-on-the-Humber will one day be written by a Scout.

There "the tinkling knell of water breaks," and the old building offered for the boys' use will teach young Scouts random cares and truant joys. A Scout may easily be the best kind of tramp, a Stevenson or a Belloc, and Scouts' Barn may shelter a modern Wordsworth. Old Thomas Fisher's grandson, whose hat was moist with water-drops but whose mind ran on larks, not poems, should be given an honorary Minkswell degree. In his day the waste race near by provided boys with shower baths,—a short run, a dodge, a rush and a clinging hand, and there you were, under the curtain; better still was the tobogganing in nature's garb on the slimy plane behind it. In winter, Fisher's pond provided a shinty ground; and the spring that trickled down by Millwood brought speckled trout with it. Sometimes the boys have made a catch of ice-bound trout, breaking the crust with their shinty sticks and lifting the fish by hand.

Farther down stream you may possibly come upon the last member of the handsomest of the sucker family, the red-horse, and at the river mouth, besides the excellent white bass, are the catfish and dogfish.

Before we were fished out, the Lake's abundance and the matchless fertility of the shores so impressed Mr. William Chambers in 1854 that he foretold the Mediterranean of the future, with fair settlements, settlements such as those now beginning on the Humber; and that spirit of optimism now so conspicuously Canadian was justified

of its existence, in the view of those visitors who foretold the land as it yet should be.

From the cherry trees of St. John, the parent stock of many orchards in a neighbouring county, to the arboretum of the future, the banks of the Humber have furnished continuous pleasure. An apology for a daily ride to its plains seems unnecessary, but Sir Francis Bond Head explains his. As soon as he commenced his duties at Toronto, something within him strenuously endorsed that he should every day take a good long ride, whether hot or cold, raining or freezing, and he managed every day, sooner or later and alone, to get a canter through the pine forest and then across the Humber Plains. It is easy to see his picture of one lovely day in spring when the plains were in high beauty, covered with shrubs in blossom, little flowers of various descriptions, and immense scarlet lilies in full bloom.

Mrs. Simcoe, like all educated Englishwomen, was a fair botanist, and she is followed by Mrs. Jameson. They are alike in their delight in the beauty of the May apple in flower and they valued the fruit as a conserve. Its white carpet in spring captivated them, and Mrs. Jameson described it at length; the stalk, "two feet in height," with the two large fan-like leaves at the top, one being always larger than the other, and from between the two springs a single flower, in size and shape a little like a large wild rose, the petal white, just tinted with a pale blush. The fruit that succeeds the flower "is oval shaped, and makes an excellent preserve," and Mrs. Simcoe's enthusiasm made her send home seeds of it within a year after her arrival. At a later date Mrs. Traill agreed with her, and then, when we turn back and read of the fruit that Champlain admired and enjoyed, we find a scientist's footnote, "*Podophyllum peltatum*, slightly acid, mawkish, eaten by pigs and boys."

John Goldie of Ayrshire, once a visitor and afterwards a settler in the country, has left a pleasant contribution to Canadiana. In the summer of 1819 he took his way from the east towards Lake Erie, chiefly on foot, for as an en-



1. False Foxglove (*Gerardia quercifolia*). 2. Turtlehead (*Chelone glabra*).
 3. Dragonhead (*Physostegia Virginiana*).

NOT ONLY DID MRS. CHAMBERLIN FIND BY THE HUMBER MOST OF THE ORIGINALS FOR
 HER PAINTINGS, BUT THE GREATER NUMBER CAME FROM BÂBY POINT.

From Mrs. Chamberlin's collection.

thusiastic botanist he wasted little time by waggon, and was oftener by the roadside than in the saddle. From Toronto, on a day when his diary marks ninety degrees and sultry, he slowly fared Humberwards, in the wandering route of a naturalist, so captivated by his finds that he made no more than fifteen miles by nightfall. "Three miles from York you come into a sandy pine barren, which continues for five miles, and in which there are one or two houses. I had not been here long when I met with ample compensation for the fatigue of travelling by land. This is as good a botanical spot as any I ever was in. I wish there were more of the pine barrens even than what there are. Having so much employment this day, I was unable to proceed far on my journey."

The beaten track that led from the Peacock by Scarlett's Plains descended to the valley where the stream was shallow and rapid over beds of shale. The surroundings of the bridle road and footpath were picturesque, with rock exhibited plentifully in the midst of herbage and foliage, and across the Plains the patches of orange lily and lupine were backed by the varied greens of sassafras and birch. Mrs. Simcoe, in her notes on growth and flora, says, "There is a great deal of hemlock and spruce on this river; the banks are dry and pleasant. I gathered a beautiful large species of *Polygala*, which is a genus of annual and perennial herbs and shrubs of the order of *Polygalaceae*," and a few years ago we have a lecturer on horticulture saying that in the Humber Valley there is still a greater variety of wildflowers, shrubbery, and tree growth than in any other part of the country examined.

It is many years since Mrs. Chamberlin gathered the specimens for her beautiful portfolio, and most of them were obtained on the Humber banks and in the valley. The collection comprised in that portfolio is unique, and worthy of being made a national possession. The long list given in the Canadian Institute's book shows that many of her favourites are still to be found, and the botanist and student of soils is urged to visit the sand plains and ravines, the flood plains and marshes of the

Humber. In Mrs. Chamberlin's book, the letterpress for which was written by another of the Strickland blood, Mrs. Traill, the preface says the writer's aim has been merely to show the real pleasure that may be obtained from the habit of observing what is offered to the eye of every traveller. One specimen particularly important to these botanists is the false foxglove, a very showy plant and not found universally, called the handsomest of all the Gerardias. Not only did Mrs. Chamberlin find by the Humber most of the originals for her paintings, but the greater number were contributed by Bâby Point and the Bâby Vale.

A botanist of authority who has made a wide study of Canada and a particular one of Ontario, tells me that this lower valley of the Humber is even yet the most valuable spot we have. Out of a long general list pertaining to it he gives me the names of twenty-two families in which there are sixty-six valuable tribes, with thirty-four varieties marked "important" or "rare;" and this list with its subdivisions does not comprise the whole of the value of flower or shrub growth. Some of his enumerations take us directly to the natural history section of the *Toronto Globe*, where there is a writer who provides us with articles that are delightfully written, and that in their pleasant scholarly English are informing to the unscientific mind. Within the last few years, many of the studies gathered for these articles based on the beauty to be found within the sound of the chimes of St. James' belong to the Valley of the Humber, even if that sound may not carry thus far; and his paragraphs on the Humber orchids, enchanting to a thoughtful reader, are worthy of special preservation. Flower gatherers are, alas, seldom flower lovers, and the Gentians, Gerardias, and Orchids of the Humber are almost extinct through the simplicity of method to which so-called lovers of wild flowers give a free rein. The old Belt Line is a joy to searchers, and mercifully our later botanists there have been possessed by the love of life, not by the instinct of death and dissection.

Six comparatively rare species of Golden Rod, including the *Solidago hispida* and *S. bicolour*, are still left to

us; and the noble masses of fern that include the colony of *Osmunda Claytoniana* between the Belt Line and the River, draw pilgrims and photographers.

In the grounds of a new house is a fine specimen of a shrub now rare, the *Prunus Pumila*; and of the two hazels which abound throughout the Valley the variety usually uncommon is that one which grows in luxuriance near the Old Mill and in the Glebe. The Bur Oak, once so common, is now sufficiently rare to make scientists refer with respect to the magnificent specimen on the bank near the Old Mill; the beautiful and rare Indian Physic still lives in the Valley; and we have the white Adder's Tongue, Slender Lady's Tresses, Scarlet Painted Cup, Slender Yellow Flax, the panicked Dogwood, and the *Serapias Helleborine*.

The wild crab-apple, which is not supposed to live in this part of Ontario in ordinary circumstances, grows in perfected beauty not far from the Old Mill; and there is still another bush of it untouched by the assassin and ravisher. The one bush of *Viburnum Opulus* will perhaps be left undisturbed. We have the Blue-Berry, both the tall and the almost prostrate; but where is the former carpet of the *Trailing Arbutus*?

Ferns, mosses and liverworts come in the Institute's list; and in the algal flora fifty-six species are given from the Humber Valley and three from other neighbourhoods. Many years before Dr. Nicholson made his report of his dredging operations, an engineer engaged in investigations in the Bay is delighted with the new order of beauties that he found "in the form of microscopical algae, singularly beautiful plants."

In a partial list of Canadian fungi some years ago we find that the edible species are in sufficient numbers to keep an educated mycologist supplied with dainties; but it is less pleasing to know that when Dr. E. M. Hodder compiled his list of poisonous plants to be found near Toronto, the Humber supplied many of his specimens. Two of the most interesting are the Northern *Calla* (*Calla palustris*), a handsome aquatic plant found in the swamps, and the Common Poke (*Phytolacca decandra*), flowering by the

wayside in July and August, its autumn clusters of dark purple berries yielding stain for the Indians in their basket work and horse-hair embroidery.

For the wild or the domesticated, the Humber soil is adapted to all the conditions required of it. Early in the nineteenth century whole books of good advice were given to intending emigrants, and one chief piece of it was on the subject of kitchen gardens. When the emigrant had surmounted his initial difficulties, above all things let him make a kitchen garden. Possibly the garden came in the wake of the fruit trees, for when the white settler at the Humber was discovered, an orchard was in bearing; and the Swayzie Pomme Gris, invented by a pioneer nurseryman of another district, after all takes second place to the Cerise de St. Jean.

The Canadian Institute held its first meeting over sixty years ago, and among its first members were believers in the men of 1831 who proposed the founding of botanical gardens in the same spirit that the founder of the small company of associates for the preservation of the Humber Valley has proposed the founding of gardens, arboretum, and possibly aquarium. Rees, Fothergill, and a man whose name the Canadian press does not allow to die, William Dunlop, had a noble and extensive aim; and the Botanical Gardens of the Humber, if ever an accomplished fact, will be due to them.

XIV.

THE CHURCH ON THE HILL.

THE witty tramp who wanted his villagers to coin their folk-lore if they had it not, says also that one's native place is the shell of one's soul, and the church is the kernel of that nut.

In the beginnings of Upper Canada, grants of Waste Lands, as they were called, were easily acquired by friends of the British Government at nominal sums, and it is easy to justify some of Robert Gourlay's tirades. But in his description of the only connected settlement within a radius of five miles, in 1817, he adds that it is true that round York, particularly to the westward, the soil is inferior; that the convenience attendant on proximity to a town would long ago have overbalanced this disadvantage, had property not been monopolized and mangled; and that in the particulars published by authority of His Majesty's Government it was enumerated that "the settlers shall have the option as to the province, but the precise spot must be regulated by the Governor of the colony." One lot of two hundred acres in every seven of the same area, reserved for an untaxable Church, led to political difficulties of far-reaching importance, and lands nowadays bought and sold as subdivisions of a Glebe get their name from the church lands so curiously reserved under a policy that in this day seems sufficiently Utopian.

Established parishes on the Humber are comparatively youthful. The cross-tipped spire that looked over Islington and Lambton Mills had its birth in 1844; and like much else on the Humber, it dates from a Gamble.

In September, 1838, on the 8th and 9th, Dr. Scadding's diary says, "Rode to the Humber and from there to Weston, to Dr. Phillips'. Went to Mimico Church with

Dr. Phillips and preached. Saw Dr. Dade and Mrs. W. Gamble."

These names, Gamble, Phillips, Dade, constantly recur in the history of the church, in print and on the maps. Between 1820 and 1830 the Archdeacon of York had held services in a small log school house in the village of Mimico, and at Weston, with the result that a mission was sketched, and in 1832 the frame church, afterwards used as a Sunday School, was built on land given, as we are told, in "Landmarks of Toronto," by J. W. Gamble. This served parishioners from the Lake Shore to Weston, under Dr. Phillips. The records of 1837 show that he conducted services at a third place, probably a spot within the present limits of St. George's parish. The growing needs meant a third church, and in 1844 a beautiful site between the two villages, Islington and Lambton, was given by William Gamble. The old-fashioned building of rough-cast, set high in its nest of trees, was not finished until 1846. During the first few years the duties were taken by Dr. Phillips and his son-in-law, the Reverend Charles Dade, and in 1846 the Reverend H. C. Cooper was appointed assistant.

Before these days of parish work Dr. Phillips had done a varied duty in York and the later Toronto. Among other positions he had acted as Chaplain of the House, where his name had been accepted only after a heated discussion on the evils of a dominant Church and the unwelcomeness of such an appointment. The man himself was a stately and picturesque personality, "very clerical in the old-fashioned sense," and one of the last wearers of hair powder in this country. A graduate of Queen's, Cambridge, and a Doctor of Divinity, he was Vice-Principal of Upper Canada College in 1829, having come out to take charge of the Grammar School. He was an accomplished scholar according to the standards of his day, and in his venerable later life his appearance was that of an English country parson of an old type. His costume, including the shovel hat, was that of the senior clergy of years ago, and his exactness made him omit the hair powder when he wore

mourning. Coming here while the Simcoe memory was fresh, he was another link with Whitchurch and Herefordshire. His own memory was held in honour in the Humber tract, and some of those young men who had spoken of him as "our honoured and beloved master" bore his body to its last resting-place.

H. C. Cooper was the eldest of a family of four brothers who emigrated to Canada in 1842 and settled in the Huron Tract. After his appointment on the Humber he lived in Runnymede House, and on Dr. Phillips' death he was appointed to Christ Church, Mimico, with the incumbency of St. Philip's at Weston. But the latter soon became a separate charge, and both parishes expanded. In 1859 St. George's Church was consecrated, a ceremony that meant much to those who remembered the beginnings of the parish nearer the lake and who had helped to build the tall spire that was their pride. The eighteen years that succeeded are recalled as the blighting times of party spirit in the Church at large, and this parish was not exempt from its ill effects.

After thirty years of faithful rectorship the name of Cooper gave way to that of Tremayne, when the Reverend F. Tremayne, of Newmarket and Canon of St. James', was appointed Rector. But as at first a third building had been required, so now a third parish must be cut from the original charge that had extended from the Lake Shore to Weston; therefore, the Bishop's mandate in 1892 constituted the congregation of St. George's Church a separate parish with the Reverend H. O. Tremayne as its first Rector. Then came the jubilee of the building, and it seemed fitting to make use of it by altering and improving the old building to suit the growing need of a modern parish. The stone piers were replaced by a solid stone foundation, the walls were bricked, and the windows of many panes and unmellowed light gave way to smaller panes of cathedral rolled glass. Gone are the memories of tuning-fork, bass viol, and the beadle with his stick; the gallery has disappeared, and an organ has replaced the tuning-fork. The quaint old pulpit was exchanged for a modern one, and

from it the Reverend F. Tremayne, under whose charge the parish had been before its independence, preached from "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" The steep approach has been succeeded by a broad and easy path, and well kept grounds grow better grass than before the hand of time thinned out the trees. But time is also decorative, and the carriage shed, removed to a right angle from its former position, is mossed over in warm colour.

Throughout the life of the parish in its original limits, the old names constantly recur. In the days of Christ Church at the Lake the Royal Oak Hotel took its share in parish work, and the old oak tree encased in the verandah sheltered many a talk on parish affairs by the hosts, father and son. From such parishioners as the Gambles, Thomas Fisher or Giles, the list goes on as the parish moved up the river, retaining the old and adding the new,—Scarletts, Howlands, Moore, Musson. Happily much later lists continue the old names, and it is growing to be a truth that one's native place is the shell of one's soul and the church the kernel of that nut.

XV.

OF TRANSITIONS AND ENTHUSIASTS.

"Hush!" said he, "there's a bird in that bush."

When they asked, "Is it small?"

He replied, "Not at all—

It is three times as large as the bush."

—*Old English Rhymes.*

MR. PHILIP FREY, or Fry, Deputy Surveyor, writes from Niagara in September, 1787, to his superior, Collins, that "the person who had been employed in the surveying business previous to me had made few and very erroneous surveys, having only laid out a few lots for particular people." He asks for two very able assistants, and gets Augustus Jones as one of them.

Jones' field notes say that the surveyors first visited York in 1791, and he finished surveying the township of Dublin, as it was then, in September. York, succeeding Dublin, was the eleventh township from the River Trent. On account of the Humber boundary, the fifth concession as shown is incomplete, and the sixth and seventh contain but few lots. Other surveys soon followed that made by Jones, and amongst the most interesting are Iredell's in 1794 and Aitken's in 1795. The three gentlemen whose names are written across an early plan and not confirmed, were designed by the chief surveyor, Collins, from his office in Quebec, to be the first landholders here. The arrival in the following year of the Governor, Colonel Simcoe, made null the power of former Land Boards; and outsiders were not enriched at the expense of Upper Canadian bonâ fide settlers, and the three semi-mythical names were replaced.

The first Parliament of Upper Canada, 1792-5, is responsible for styling a town that class of settlement we now call a township. It provided that in each township which had thirty or more inhabitant householders, any two

justices of the district might order the constable to call a public meeting of the householders of the township on the first Monday in March. The officers so elected and the method of allotting their functions show the Upper Canadian town meeting to have drawn much inspiration from the U. E. Loyalists, who had brought with them modified ideas of the New England town meeting.

The first patents from the Crown to the original grantees include the Devans, whose names are in the township offices, and John Lawrence, who had previously "prayed for lots 1, 2, and 3, not including the island."

The entry is:

1}	John Lawrence all, 228 acres, Sept. 1, 1797.	
2}		
3}		
4}	John Wilson " 200 " Oct. 24, 1798.	
5}		
6	Isaac Devans " 176 " Aug. 24, 1796.	
7}	Abraham Devans .. " 344 " Aug. 24, 1796.	
8}		
9}	Levy Devans " 252 " Aug. 24, 1796.	
10}		

Devans, Devins, and Devaynes all appear, and even Levi varies. But they gave good and sufficient reason, and in the petition in which the three Devaynes are bracketed we see that each Petitioner "having observed a firm and loyal attachment to his Majesty's Crown and Interest during the late War with America, prays for each a Proportion of Land, as yr Excellency may think proper, and humbly begs leave to remind yr Excellency of a Promise of a Tract of Land running from the Stake No. 5 up to Toronto Creek. The Petition granted, Nov. 4, 1794."

The end of the century was part of a free-minded, quick-handed time, and all the records, in Law Journals or elsewhere, discover many notices of assault and battery among high and low and in all quarters. A rider to the appointment of Levi Devans reads that the constables are to take notice that although for their own ease they are selected for particular districts, they are liable to serve process

generally in the county. In the earliest account of an election of town officers, Abraham Devans was overseer of highways and fence viewer for the Circle of the Humber, and Benjamin Davis poundkeeper for the Circle. Lawful fences were five feet and a half high.

The few souls in Dublin in the survey of 1791 had grown to six hundred and fifty-nine when York town and township with Etobicoke were measured for their inhabitants in 1798. In that year came an Act to ascertain and establish on a permanent footing the boundary lines of the different townships of the Province.

Six years after the first appointment of a Devans, the name appears, slightly altered in spelling, in an annual meeting of the town and parish officers held at Stoyell's Inn at York: Benjamin Davis for the Humber Road, Levi Devines for the North part and Joseph Ogden for the South part of Etobicoke, as overseers of highways and fence viewers; Jacob De Long for the Humber, and Daniel Stuart for Etobicoke, pound keepers. Fences were to be five feet high, with stakes and riders, and no more than a space of four inches between the rails, to the height of three feet of the same.

By 1783 discharged soldiers and U. E. Loyalists were liberally rewarded in lands, and the British Government became well known for its method or the lack of method that lasted for many years, in disposing of vast numbers of acres in Canada to its friends for nominal sums. Long after the arrival of those first settlers it was said that a chosen settlement in Canada had three great disadvantages against many and great advantages, and a neighbour of the Humber enumerates the former as bad roads, bad potatoes, and a dangerous title. When the gift of lands lay in the hands of a man whose occasional formula was, "I, Peter Russell, convey to you, Peter Russell," many jests and troublesome titles resulted. A succeeding Governor said that he had a predecessor who would have granted land to the de'il himself and all his family if only they would pay the fees.

In 1799 the Home District contained 224 inhabitants;

at the close of 1803 the annual tax levied on the inhabitants of York, 456 persons, was £62; in 1805 Canada was the taxpayer's paradise; by 1809 the township of York had a population of 618, and the township of Etobicoke 137; and by 1878 the population of Lambton Mills was 350.

During these stages local politics waxed and waned, and for years concessions and the methods of arriving at boundaries were fair game to many writers. Gourlay, like most of his contemporaries, dearly loved to twirl a period, and mostly delivered himself fortissimo; but after making due allowance for the manner of his era and the wasp in his ink, it is found that he was sometimes justified. In his Statistics he shows the state of the country in general; but he received no replies to his queries for this portion of the district. His capacity for antagonizing most people, even when he was in the right, left it fitting enough that Dr. Strachan should put obstacles in the agitator's way; and a second cause of the queries remaining unanswered was traced by Gourlay to the low condition of society in the Home District owing to the peculiar condition of property. A simple definition of concession lines was, lines on which posts are fixed to number the lots; and of a township, a block in the wilderness, and in those early years the word township was anathema. Law without justice prevailed, and lawyers swarmed in the villages, a state of things provided by the manner in which lands were laid out.

The boundaries of the County of York in its two ridings were established by proclamation in July, 1792, and thereafter all classes of people, except the lawyers, lamented. The surveyors became ashamed. An engineer who was little more than a passer-by makes an impassioned plea for a law that will order townships to be laid out according to their natural boundaries; that all concession lines should be run according to the law of nature; and that all settlers should be given deeds of lands, that their progeny should know them thousands of years hence; and the Canada Company was setting a good example, for their extensive blocks were to be bounded by the rivers, and the concessions by the brooks.

While that engineer was thus adding his mite to the confounding of confusions in general, nearer home we find wastes of deeded land sometimes the reward of merit or of services, as often the reward of intrigue or falsehood, and each providing difficulties in selecting and beginning settlement. "Such intriguers withstand you under the mighty barrier of the law which protects them, while, with all the stupidity of the dog in the manger, they abuse it. This system of allocation is one of the disadvantages to their own neighbourhood, and one of the principal causes of delay and difficulty at York. Did anybody ever know of a township being granted on a fair business basis?" cried the exasperated ones; and perplexity is the note of a visitor in 1820, who writes that a concession line was one parallel with the front of the township, but at an uncertain distance behind it, generally speaking a mile and a quarter or a mile and a half, and so on until the whole township is divided into concessions, with space for a road between every two. These concessions are divided into lots, by taking a certain breadth on the front line of township for the front of each line of lots, commonly from five to ten acres, with a road between every five lots, and running the same breadth, perpendicularly, through every concession from front to rear of the township. This definition was written thirteen years before the Home District was said to have its back front on Georgian Bay. Gourlay stoutly maintained that taxing houses and fireplaces in a new country was a sin against nature, and that good houses should rather have a premium; but in all the war round taxes and townships, the settlers and grantees on the Humber were taking their place in the natural development of the District. Progeny a thousand years hence is too far a cry; but the Humber mouth to-day has a Devins in line direct from one of the three who took their patents and, as they phrased it, "feared" the red men in 1796.

Forty years later Sir Francis Bond Head was declaring that in his opinion the Crown Lands should have been given to the British emigrant for nothing; or, to put it more correctly, as payment by the Mother Country for his courage, trouble and expense.

A number of lots in the different concessions throughout the township were patented to King's College in 1829, and the manner of their acquisition had given some offence inevitably. Missionary zeal everywhere, even in some Bab Ballads, has been tempered with distrust and some harsher things; and it was natural that bitter pens in an unrecognized Church should write harshly of a member of Government "who went to England and by giving a false chart of the country succeeded in obtaining a charter for a sectarian college, with an endowment of our school lands." But farther east Methodists fared better. A preacher and one-legged soldier who had fought at Lundy's Lane got his certificate after the disbanding of the troops, with an accompanying note from his commanding officer that he had prayed like a saint and fought like a devil, and was amply entitled to Government land.

The town map of 1827 had gone as far as the Humber, at the mouth of which is a triangular lot marked for the Kirk of Scotland. Three lots fronting on the river were marked respectively for the Chancellor, the President, and King's College. On this map is marked also the Reserve for the King's Mill, and there are five lots for J. G. Simcoe, and on the third concession line, "Cooper's Mills."

Stave timber, a Humber industry, comes closely after the discussions on boundaries and townships. In the opinions and reports addressed to John Galt in 1832 are, *inter alia*, the correspondent's ideas on the method of carving townships and on stave timber. The York townships were subject to the usual reservations of Crown lands; but the chief of such lands therein as were worth any considerable value were leased or otherwise disposed of; though, in this correspondent's humble opinion, there was not one out of ten occupying those lands, or who paid rents or taxes thereon, but had got their names inserted on the plans and books of office for a mere trifle, only for the purpose of destroying or taking away to the Quebec market the stave timber growing thereon, without any interruption of Government whatsoever.

The grandeur of our Weymouth pines has its recorder,



1913.

A RAILWAY BRIDGE THAT DOES NOT DEFACE.

who deplores the removal of the best of the forest trees at a very early date, not for stave but for building timber, when the best growth was hewn into square logs and rafted down the St. Lawrence for shipment to Great Britain.

Before 1830 Canadian cash was in a sad mess. British coins could not be taken with safety west of Montreal, the shillings in circulation were the mintage of all nations, the exchange and premium varied so much that an English broker would have been puzzled, and, in a truly British spirit, we are told that to make it worse "the French kept gabbling about their own coins."

But process of time was evolving order in all things, predictions were being realized, and by 1857 Sir Francis Bond Head makes one especially sensible statement in the midst of a number of fine phrases addressed to the Secretary of State: "Now it is impossible for any unprejudiced man to study the map of Canada without perceiving that almost the whole of the main arterial lines of railway and of lake navigation converge upon or diverge from Toronto"—which brings us on our way to the Harbour Board Map.

In 1788 Captain Gother Mann drew a map that was purely ideal; but a few years afterwards it commended itself sufficiently to the Governor to make him ask the chief draughtsman in the Surveyor-General's office if the said town and township had ever been laid out. The plan showed a four-square fancy town plot of eleven equal blocks each way, fronted by a belt of Ground Reserved, and with a large patch of Common in the rear. The surrounding country, from the line of the Humber to east of the Don, is cut up into concessions and farm lots and roads in the manner of his and succeeding times, with the utmost regularity and irrespective of hill, river, or morass.

In July, 1818, a Royal Patent was issued providing for a permanent broad promenade along the whole town under the name of Mall, superseding the fairly passable road that came in its turn after the Indian foot-path. The many creeks then alive were crossed by log bridges. The Mall was to contain some thirty acres, and its trustees were John Beverley Robinson, George Crookshank, Duncan Cameron,

Grant Powell and William Allan, "to hold the same for the use of the inhabitants." The trustees failed to hold and the railways succeeded in acquiring, and the Esplanade as we know it was the result. In the sequence of maps leading to the Cousins and those of the Humber Surveys are two to be particularly observed, a Bonnycastle and one of 1852. The Bonnycastle is that of the Military Reserve laid out by him, resurveyed by Hawkins, certified by Bonnycastle and approved by Bond Head in 1837. From Bathurst Street crossing Brock, between Ontario Terrace and the shore, is a space "Reserved for the Public as a promenade and Pleasure ground." By 1852 comes the civic negative that as years increased assumed the virtue of a habit. This plan, "Shewing the Proposed Public Improvement by the Harbour Commission," states "Road or Esplanade 100 feet wide, condition in the Grant to the Corporation." The coloured sketch and design for laying out the north shore of the Toronto Harbour in pleasure walks and shrubbery for the recreation of the Citizens has written across it in a memorandum in pencil, "This design seems too ornamental, and inconsistent therefore with the idea of an Esplanade or Promenade."

When Mrs. Jameson reached Toronto in mid-winter in 1837 she was prepared for discomfort and cold, but the mean and melancholy appearance of the little ill-built town, the sullen grey lake and the dark pine forest bounding the prospect, struck terror to her homesick soul. By degrees she sees picturesqueness or beauty, and she soon lets her highly trained mind take in the varied significance of her surroundings. The sea wall and park that will one day stretch to the mouth of the Humber were almost predicted by her; and apropos of "the curious and inexplicable phenomenon connected with the rise and fall of these inland seas" and the consequent falling of the banks, she says, "If this process goes on and at the same rate, there must be a solid embankment or quay raised as a barrier against the encroaching waters, or the esplanade itself will in time disappear."

Not only the Harbour Board water-front but the Boule-

ward and the Kingsway can trace their ancestry, in spite of intermediate bars sinister, to the Land Office of 1789, when we find there shall be a public square or parade in the centre of the town, containing four acres more or less; the eight principal streets leading from the square were to be ninety-six feet wide, all other streets sixty feet wide. Nassau and Dublin settled down into York, and Mrs. Simcoe comes next after Captain Mann, in her rides on the peninsula and along the Lake Shore, in the list of projectors of an esplanade, boulevard, and chain of parks. The beauties of the Don and its valley were dilated on by the Simcoes and their friends, its scenery was enjoyed for fifty years, then proposals for deepening, widening, generally altering, led the way to its capture by the octopus of industry, and the fate of its surroundings gave pause to those rus-in-urbans who were determined to preserve unspoiled the western borders of the Lady's Ride.

The first annual meeting of the shareholders of the Toronto Land Corporation was held in January, 1911. In May of that year its president made his offer to the city of land for the purposes of drive and boulevard, the result of five years of unaided planning by an enthusiast who had determined that a portion of the west should be retained for public service and that none of it should be a shack town or railway ground. It was a turning-point; Toronto could decide whether it would take a step towards the city beautiful or towards a coal depot. The press, with one slight hesitation, upheld the acceptance of the gift; and the story of the long drawn ramifications of a half refusal forms an interesting study of the mind civic.

In its proemial stage this gift, with its idea that the Humber should in part be saved for the city, was debated almost to extinction. Baron Haussmann put four chief words in his conception,—spaciousness, symmetry, order, convenience. The little Company of Enthusiasts of 1905 (with power to augment), set those words or their equivalent in their list; and the Harbour map, the Humber Valleys Surveys maps, the definite action of the city and Federal Governments, the foundations of houses that will be

homes soon to be laid near St. John's House or by the Indian Wedding, or on the bluffs beyond—these things make an earnest that an enthusiast may yet be a prophet with honour in his own land.

The English officer who visited Mr. Blank, the miller of importance on the Humber, in 1840, prefaced his recital by a note on the river, "along the banks of which a view hunter may select many pretty landscapes." Taken with its context, that simple description conveyed more than many rhapsodies. Those pretty landscapes, the little bit of England far from England, and the fate of the Don valley, have combined towards the preservation of the Humber.

When difficulties beset the acceptance of the gift of a park for the people, one was derived from comic opera, for, handed down from the squatters' rights of the days of the King's Mill, a squatter near that historic site claimed his rights in full. Momus took a box at the City Hall and watched the play that ran from May, 1911, until November, 1912 and thereafter, when the gift by private ownership to public uses was accepted with more or less definiteness. To look a gift horse in the mouth is an exhibition of veterinary common sense; to try to hamstring the animal is not sportsmanlike.

Perhaps the Mayor and Harbour Board of 1912 come into the list of Enthusiasts. A few years ago a growth, mushroom and sometimes pestilential, sprang up in and about the city. Swansea and Mimico came within the shackland girdle that stretched northward and beyond the Don. But a city has a debt to the shacker; and the spirit of acceptance of that debt, and the acceptance of obligation towards future citizens, helped towards the work of housing committees and towards the free hand given the Mayor and Harbour Board in their statesmanlike conception of the uses of air and water and earth. A peculiar development of a tone of optimism brought with it a sense of creative power, and the enthusiasm that once would have meant a frenzied or short-sighted clutch at the elusive was converted into a slow and reasoned growth. But

“Who seeks to please all men each way
 And not himself offend,
 He may begin his work to-day,
 But God knows when he'll end.”

High up in the list of enthusiasts is a barber. When sleepy Lambton felt itself on the eve of a new birth and foresaw either a second Toronto Junction in the railway world or a new Elysium, a wise barber built his shop on the brow of the hill. As a patient lay with back to door, the upturned gaze was caught and held by the vignettèd landscape in the mirror; and thus, he argued, men emerged from his door refreshed, pleased, and walking advertisements for the purchase of property. A philosopher of a different class is found westward of our district, but worthy of emulation, a wise man of the woods. He fed his fires with coal, teaming it a long distance, rather than cut his fair bush; for he felt that his cedar, maple, and beech, of fourteen to eighteen inch butt, if cut at all, were worthy a better fate than the hollow of an iron stove. A tale of intense devotion to the Humber and romantic homesickness cuts sharply across the line of mere enthusiasms, in the story of a deathbed request that the ashes should be carried many miles to the stream so well loved and there scattered, to float out to the great Lake.

In the lists of transitions we find a Gamble memorial from the mouth of the river, where his storehouse, wharf, and scow for transshipment inward and outward were noted marks in the progress of the settlement, at intervals all along the Valley. The remnant of the wharf could be seen from the water-front until a very recent date; and across from his ruined mill, on the east side of his settlement an unromantic memento of the bone fertilizer in the shape of shin bones neatly arranged in piles, stood for nearly ten years after his departure.

Tramps' Castle comes into the history, if only in the police records, for there tramps to the number of sixteen have been rounded up, sleeping two and two in the stalls. Tragedy and melodrama may in the end work towards the policing of land and water. Once upon a time when his-

tory was so new and all, the Don was the haunt of footpads and murders were occasional, but the Humber has its modern outlaws and pirates. Four brave, bad, bold men made their home in a cave in the river-bank, hid their booty there, and sank and stole launches at will.

The facts were serious enough. A river close to the city and still without its protection, and a boundary between two townships, provided a police problem that remained untouched until the Land Company essayed a solution. Pagan Indians of King's Mill times who troubled a former Isaac Devans have direct descendants in the robbers and pirates who played melodrama in a cave, and in the vandals who wreck booths by which women make a living. The vandal work has sometimes been helped by youths who looked like Scouts and traded on that likeness. In the happy months of spring they are armed with hatchets, rifles, and fervour; the lives of passers-by are endangered, trees are destroyed in sacrifice to the red gods, grass may be set alight, and perhaps a house is in danger. The city will not protect, and the police do not value, a tree. The result goes farther, and the general contempt for the rights of the owners of property have made the Land Company fence and restrict where otherwise pleasure-seekers might have gone unhampered.

The Bond Head and Simcoe rides reached the river alike by the forest path from the Peacock or by the Lake Shore. At the ferry, where the Etobicoke records give James McLean as an inhabitant householder, one went north by bridle-path or boat; the northward path by the concession line, Jane Street, was unknown to any but Indians and surveyors. Jane Street from Bloor Street north is the east boundary of the land sought to be saved for home-making. It is the concession that later made communication between the Lake Shore and the Valley of the Black Creek, and it must yet be an important thoroughfare in the life of a fast-growing city. This old line and present necessary thoroughfare was sought to be absorbed in part by a railway that offered an absurdity of compensation. Dundas Street came also in the range of transitions, and by 1909 Keele

Street, Elizabeth, Jane, and even Scarlett Road, were marked for defacement. Level crossings and all the horrors of Danger Row could be avoided, argued the railway, by closing Jane Street and leaving vehicles to use the subway at Elizabeth Street or Scarlett, three-quarters of a mile apart. For a long time the district of Jane Street and West Toronto was, comprehensively, Runnymede; thus the remainder of Runnymede joined the Humber with simple common sense in preparing for the day of annexation. This was not a time to let the railways begin a work that would hamper the future; and by the end of 1910 Runnymede was prepared to fight to a finish.

The long struggle between land owners and beauty lovers versus railway corporations, with its fluctuations, spread over several years; the scares as to stone piers settling, scenery spoiled, property injured; the ruin of Jane Street and the continuance of Danger Row; the revival of the Belt Line and the rumours thereupon; these and all such troubles, disasters and transitions, were tossed into the lap of those gods who sit in commissions, and solution and compromise with little interruption to the work of either side followed. But occasionally a life made an abrupt ending, and a story of single-mindedness and sacrifice comes from Jane Street and its level crossing. A switchman, old and faithful, who had been ill, escaped from his watchers during his delirium, lighted his lantern and went to his accustomed post, where his body was found a few hours later, his light still burning.

Between the era of "Twelve Miles from a Lemon" and the descriptions of pioneer life, and the approaching day of the wireless telephone, transitions have not been sharp cut from day to day. One of Peter Jones' stories has been told too often, but it belongs now to transitions in travel by the Humber. To come down from the Grand River, to wander towards Toronto via the Humber Valley and Plains, to make and sell baskets en route and sell the remainder of the make in town, was a yearly ploy for the Indians. But once, as a treat, the hawkers were taken on their homeward way as far as Hamilton by the new railway. An old

woman who retained the belief that the body shall not outstrip the soul, and who cherished her spiritual life, threw herself face down on alighting at Hamilton. She had never seen a train before, and when her protectors asked the reason of her posture, she explained that she was waiting for her soul to come.

Approaches to the town from the Humber were once guarded by block-houses. A little one that stood at the east side of Garrison Creek near the mouth was destroyed by the Americans in 1813, and a manuscript map of 1807 shows a block-house at the intersection of Garrison Creek with the present Queen Street, just north of the road at the east side of the stream. Turning towards the Humber, the first brick house on Dundas Street between the village and Toronto was built in 1844 by a survivor of 1812, Colonel E. W. Thomson, on the farm Aikenshaw. In "Landmarks of Toronto" we read that John Scarlett's house, Runnymede, built in 1838 about a third of a mile from the concession, was the last building until the racecourse on the Plains was reached.

Before 1850 settlers and citizens were agape at the strides of improvement that changed the face of the country every ten years; but each change was not unanimously accepted as an improvement. There are now too many Lambtons in the Province, but at one time there were too many Etobicokes in the township, with a peculiar confusion in the address and delivery of letters from Great Britain; but the change to the east bank simplified Etobicoke at the expense of Lambton. The two-sided village contains two noted general stores, the western one that held William Gamble and his post-office, and the eastern one that held Howland and the post-office of to-day. The Gamble building of seventy years or more is intact, and the name Fitzpatrick comes down via Bell and Ware and Rogers; but across the river, where the building is a few years younger, the name above the door has undergone but one change,—from Howland to Howland and Elliott.

The Post Office Records show that the Etobicoke office was opened in 1832 with Truman Wilcox as post-master,

and the official change to Lambton Mills was made in 1873. The papers connected with the change are not now in existence. Seventy years ago a letter sent from Toronto to the office at the other side of the river cost fourpence half-penny; the form of address perhaps varied to suit the maps that were not extinct at that time, for Ytobicoke and Toby Cook are among the first efforts to render into English Wah-do-be-kaung, one of the several versions of the place where the alders grow. Within the last year a long-delayed letter proved that there are other vague addresses in the one township. A correspondent in Weston sent a letter to a friend in Scarlett Plains, a place unknown in postal routine, and after many months of travel between Toronto, Dublin and New York, the letter found its way back to the sender.

Lambton Mills as a village is a point that has parts but only occasional position. It is given in the lists of post-offices, and appears on the face of maps, but it is not yet in governmental enumeration of villages. Even its name, Lambton, has little but a shadowy derivation. It moves on in self-contained happiness, almost unaffected by the whirr of life that darts through its half-mile length, and it puts its trust in garden loam. There is probably no better garden land in the county than that in the river flats, and the life of a gardener has had its diversions. A Toronto journal describes a character of forty or fifty years ago, one Protestant George of Mimico, who on the 11th of July was wont to go to town to sell produce or cattle to provide funds for the celebration of the Glorious Twelfth. The bridge at the mouth of the river had gone out on a flood; but in protestant determination George took the upper route via Lambton Mills and Dundas Street. He was unable to sell his beast, but he met many loyal friends, and King William's health suffered. Protestant George forgot there was no bridge at the mouth, reached the place, found no aid and called lustily for it. The innkeeper from the west side shouted advice to follow King Billy's example at the Boyne; so the cow was driven into the flood while George grasped the tail, and in mid-stream the merry par-

tisan threw his free hand aloft with "Hurrah for King Billy," adding a cheer for himself. He was soon drawn up the west bank, a wet and happy man.

A chief transition and wrought more by nature than by the hand of the man who put the first touch, belongs to comparatively recent years. A charming bit of scenery is said to date from Darche of the stave mill,—a lathe and waterwheel above the dam, a little trench cut across the peninsula where the east bank made a bend, and the west point thus helped by nature and artifice soon became an island. When the upper dam of Cooper's time was succeeded by the present one, the carving of the island above the Dundas Street bridge was a natural result, and original assisted direction added to by years and freshets made the west and artificial channel the main branch of the river.

In 1886 a Visitors' Guide predicted that in ten years Toronto, by Dundas Street as its western outlet, would extend to Lambton Mills. By 1908 speculation was running wild as to the purchasers and the probable fate of the Old Mill and some of the Humber lands; former purchases by unknown agencies were counted up, and in 1910, when the Toronto Land Company received its charter, the wonderment was at its height. At the very least, Lambton and the west bank would be a summer resort.

The rumours that comprehended the village and bank involved the Belt Line also. That line, from the Don to the Humber, had been a project born out of due time; the over-sanguine promoters were twenty years too soon, and their grass-grown road-bed was used only as a pleasant walk. But the time for steel is approaching, and the new suburb will be served by the Belt Line and another that will enclose Bridge End and the Glebe. Simcoe lined out great roads and began them by actual settlement, and in 1794 the Surveyor-General's office issued a notice of certain conditions to all persons who had obtained assignments on Dundas Street beyond Burlington Bay, two things that continue the analogy between the old and new work and the settlement served by road and railway near the Humber end of Dundas Street now.

Bloor Street and the Kingsway take us back to the history of the pioneer of subdivisions. The front of Toronto up to 1830 was known as the Broken Front; the first concession north of the bay was Bloor Street, and at its junction with Yonge Street was a tollgate. Westward in those days and for long afterwards, Bloor Street was an idea, not a fact. Bloor of that street was once the landlord of the Farmers' Arms near the market-place, and he and his brewery near the first concession gave the track its name. He bought land beyond his concession road, laid it out as a village and called it Yorkville, and afterwards his name supplanted the earlier designations of St. Paul's Road or Sydenham. A tollgate stood at the north-east corner of this concession and Dundas Street; to-day, Bloor Street crosses Jane Street, opens Bridge End, turns northward in the Kingsway, sweeps by the Old Mill, and below the Glebe leaves the Kingsway for the west, where we lose it beyond the Humber Valley Surveys.

The efforts of the York Pioneers and too few others are towards the retention of names that have a meaning in the origin of places. A morning paper has made a suggestion towards the possibility of linking up the old Danforth Road of Simcoe's time with the new Bloor Street of the west, using the great road-maker's name in the designation of the whole. Perhaps the suggestion may not be feasible, but its spirit is commendable. The same spirit is seen in the distribution of the paths of the Toronto Land enthusiasts and in the treatment of the land that was called the Garden of Eden; where the discovery by Brulé is honoured, and where the Humber of St. John is loved.



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